THE

PALESTINE EXPLORATION FUND.

NOTES AND NEWS.

It is suggested to subscribers that the safest and the most convenient manner of paying a subscription is by means of a bank. A form is enclosed which may be filled up and sent to the banker as an instruction. Subscribers adopting this method will not receive any official receipt, but will see their names regularly acknowledged in the *Quarterly Statement*. Among other advantages, this method removes the danger of loss or miscarriage, and saves the Society's office the labour and expense of acknowledgment by official receipt and letter.

We repeat what we said in the *notes* of the *Quarterly Statement* for January, 1878, that the payment of subscriptions *early in the year* greatly strenghtens the hands of the Committee.

The reduction of the large map is complete, and the small map, which will be engraved in six, not in three sheets, as originally proposed, is already in the hands of Mr. Stanford, who will lose no time in executing the work. The time required for engraving will be certainly not less than eighteen months.

The special work for the year 1879 will be the publication of the materials now in the hands of the Committee. Estimates have been prepared of the cost, and although it is as yet impossible to state the exact sum required, it is clear that an amount will be required at least equivalent to the expenses of a party in the field for a year and a-half or two years. Of course, publication of the results must be regarded as a necessary part of the work. The Survey of Western Palestine must not therefore be regarded as complete until it has entirely left the hands of printer and cartographer.

The Expedition to Galilee, proposed for this winter, has been postponed for the present. The amount specially subscribed is transferred to deposit account as a

separate fund, and will not be used for any other purpose without permission of the donors. Names and promises of support for this expedition are received at the office, but it must be understood that the regular subscriptions of the year will be devoted to publications.

A new edition of "Tent Work in Palestine" has been prepared, and is now ready. Those subscribers who wish for a copy at the reduced price are requested to send their names to the Secretary as early as possible.

A meeting was held at the Royal Institute of British Architects on December the 2nd, at which Lieutenant Conder read a paper on the architecture of the Haram area. A discussion followed. The paper has been published in the Transactions of the Institute and in the *Builder*.

The engagements of Mrs. Finn with the Committee have for the present ceased. Ladies' Associations will therefore be henceforth connected directly with the head offices of the Society.

Subscribers who do not receive the *Quarterly Statement* regularly are asked to send a note to the Secretary. Great care is taken to forward the periodical to all who are entitled to receive it, but changes of address and other causes give rise to occasional omissions.

The income of the Fund from all sources, from September 19th to December 31st, 1878, was £916 11s. 9d. The expenditure was as follows :—Paid on account of "Tent Work," £562 6s. 11d. ; office expenses, £163 18s. 7d. ; bills, £210 0s. 1d.

It has been asked whether, since the Survey is finished, the *Quarterly Statement* will be discontinued. The Survey, as stated above, will be actually completed when it is entirely published, and not before. But its completion does not mean the completion of the work of the Society, as reference to the original prospectus will show. And there is, more than ever, need of a periodical devoted to the special line of research which is the *raison d'être* of this *Quarterly Statement*. It will therefore be continued as long as the Society exists and there is work of the kind which it represents to be done and reported.

Several cases have been at various times discovered of postage stamps being lost on their way to the office. The only way to avoid such loss, unless subscriptions are paid through the bank, is to send money by P.O.O. or by cheque, *in every case payable to the order of Walter Besant, Esq., and crossed to Coutts and Co., or the Union Bank, Charing Cross Branch.*

The ninth thousand of "Our Work in Palestine" is now ready (price 3s. 6d.), and may be ordered of booksellers. This book carries the work down to the commencement of the Survey, but does not embrace M. Ganneau's discoveries nor the results of the Survey itself.

The following are at present Representatives and Lecturers of the Society, in addition to the local Hon. Secs. :—

Archdeaconry of Hereford: Rev. J. S. Stooke-Vaughan, Wellington Heath Vicarage, Ledbury.

City and neighbourhood of Manchester: Rev. W. F. Birch, St. Saviour's Rectory.

Lancashire: Rev. John Bone, St. Thomas's Vicarage, Lancaster.

London: Rev. Henry Geary, 16, Somerset Street, Portman Square; and Mr. C. Stuart Lockhart (address at the office).

Norwich: Rev. W. F. Creeny.

Suffolk: Rev. F. C. Long, Stow-upland, Stowmarket.

Peterborough: Rev. A. J. Foster, Farndish Rectory, Wellingborough.

Worcester: Rev. F. W. Holland, Evesham (Member of General and Executive Committee, and one of the Hon. Secretaries to the Fund).

Diocese of Ripon: Rev. T. C. Henley, Kirkby Malham Vicarage.

North Wales: Rev. John Jones, Treborth, Bangor.

Yorkshire, Durham, and the North: Rev. James King, 13, Paradise Terrace, Darlington. Mr. King has recently returned from the Holy Land; communications for lectures, &c., can be sent to the Office at Charing Cross.

IRELAND.—Rev. G. J. Stokes, Blackrock, Dublin.

SCOTLAND.—Rev. R. J. Craig, Dalgetty, Burntisland.

The Rev. Horrocks Cocks, The Parsonage, Egham Hill, Surrey, has also kindly offered his services among the Nonconformist churches.

While desiring to give every publicity to proposed identifications and other theories advanced by officers of the Fund and contributors to the pages of the *Quarterly Statement*, the Committee beg it to be distinctly understood that they leave such proposals to be discussed on their own merits, and that by publishing them in the *Quarterly Statement* the Committee do not sanction or adopt them.

Annual subscribers are earnestly requested to forward their subscriptions for the current year when due, at their *earliest convenience*, and without waiting for application.

The Committee are always glad to receive old numbers of the *Quarterly Statement*, especially those which have been advertised as out of print.

Attention is called to the statement already advertised, that subscribers to the Fund are privileged by the publishers to receive both the "Literary Remains of the late Mr. C. F. Tyrwhitt Drake," and the "Underground Jerusalem" of Captain Warren, at reduced rates. The former book will be sent for ten shillings, the latter for sixteen shillings, postage paid. But letter asking for them must be sent to the office at 11 and 12, Charing Cross only.

Cases for binding the *Quarterly Statement* are now ready, and can be had on application to Messrs. R. Bentley and Son, 8, New Burlington Street. They are in green or brown cloth, with the stamp of the Society, uniform in appearance with "Our Work in Palestine," and are sold at the price of eighteenpence.

Lieut. Kitchener's Guinea Book of Biblical Photographs can be bought at Mr. Stanford's establishment, 55, Charing Cross. It contains twelve views, with a short account of each. They are mounted on tinted boards, and handsomely bound.

THE PRESENT CONDITION OF PALESTINE.

[Reprinted from the *Jewish Chronicle*, by kind permission of the Editor.]

I.—The Present Condition of the Country.

Since the completion of the Survey of Palestine—which is on the same scale and which aims at giving the same amount of detail given for England by our Ordnance Survey—we may be said to possess more detailed and accurate information regarding the present condition of Palestine than exists in the case of any other Asiatic or African country. The waste lands, forests, and deserts are distinguished on the great map from the cultivated districts. The olives, figs, vines, and enclosed vegetable gardens are all shown, the springs and streams have all been surveyed, and the memoirs which accompany the map give detailed accounts of the water supply and cultivation. We have, therefore, at the present time reliable data ready for publication for a true estimate of the present condition of Palestine, and of its possible future value.

The desolate condition of the country has been over-estimated. It has been supposed that a great change in climate has occurred, and that there has been a great destruction of former forests. Both these statements are far beyond the true facts. The seasons of Palestine are identical with those described in the Mishna, and although we have no ancient observations to compare, and cannot therefore say with certainty that the rainfall is the same as in older times, still the springs and streams mentioned in the Bible are all yet flowing with water, and the annual rainfall of about twenty inches would be quite sufficient for the wants of the country if it were stored in the innumerable "broken cisterns," which only require a coat of cement to make them serviceable.

The climate is, no doubt, far more unhealthy than formerly, but this is due in great measure to the destruction of the splendid old system of drainage and irrigation, and to the loss of trees raised by cultivation. Good drainage and tree planting would do much to restore the land to its former condition as regards climate.

Palestine is by no means bare of trees, and its water supply is most abundant in the cultivated districts. A forest of oaks covers the hills

west of Nazareth—a beautiful woodland extends westwards from the low hills into the plains of Sharon. On Carmel and in the Hebron hills the thick copse has spread over former vineyards and orchards, and in lower Galilee many districts are clothed with a dense tangled brushwood, and with oaks and mastic trees. This luxuriant wild growth flourishes in spite of wholesale destruction by the fire-wood sellers, and unprotected by any forest laws, evidencing the richness of the soil where it grows.

This richness of the soil is also attested in the plains by the beautiful crops of barley and wheat, raised by merely scratching the ground with the light native plough; and the oil from the long olive groves on the low hills (of which 1,800 tons were exported in 1871), is said to be the finest in the world. On the high Hebron hills, and on Hermon, the vine grows most luxuriantly, and good wine is even now manufactured in Lebanon. The fruits of the country are numerous and delicious, and cotton, tobacco, indigo, millet, and sugar cane can all be grown easily.

The riches of the land are mainly agricultural. Mines have been found at Sidon and in Lebanon, copper, coal, and even tin having been discovered, but the quality of the mineral does not appear to be very good in any case. It seems, however, that rock-oil may be expected in the neighbourhood of the Dead Sea (where indications of its presence are said to have been noticed), and bitumen and salt are already obtained from the same vicinity.

There is one particular in which a marked difference is observable. This is in the amount of cultivation as compared with that of former times. The ancient terraces so carefully built up or hewn in the hill-sides now produce rich crops—but crops of weeds and thistles. For every inhabited village ten ruined towns are found. In the copses and on bare hill-sides the ancient wine-presses are cut in rock. The site of the vineyard of Naboth at Jezreel is marked on the Survey map by a collection of these ancient presses on the hill above the city, where not a vine plant is now grown. Old orchard walls and watch-towers of huge stones stand half ruined in the wild districts, and the same story is repeated throughout the length of the land—the cultivation has shrunk with a decreasing population.

The population of Syria is stated in consular reports not to exceed the incredibly low figure of two and a quarter millions in 26,000 square miles. In the country the people are packed in villages, containing 100 to 500 inhabitants, and the grounds of a village will average about 10 acres per soul. Two-thirds of the peasantry are Moslem. About 40,000 Jews are said to live in Syria, and in Palestine they are found chiefly in the four sacred cities, Jerusalem, Hebron, Tiberias, and Safed, and in the coast towns. The greater number are poor, and many are supported by the Halukah. The richer class are merchants and traders. The majority of the Jews are Ashkenazim, from Germany, Poland, and Russia.

It is said that if fully cultivated, even after the native fashion, Palestine is capable of supporting ten times its present population.

The question which really requires to be answered is: In what manner can this cultivation be carried out? It is proposed to show, in the succeeding articles, the reasons why former attempts have failed, and the true principle to be adopted, whether on a small scale under the existing government, or on a large scale, under a more enlightened and juster administration. It has been already proved that none are better fitted to carry out these improvements, and to direct the present population in agriculture, than the descendants of the ancient conquerors who made hewers of wood and drawers of water of the aboriginal population. The energy, industry, and tact, which are so remarkable in the Jewish character, are qualities invaluable in a country whose inhabitants have sunk into fatalistic indolence; and Palestine is still so cheap a country, and requires so moderate a capital for investment, that it may well attract the attention of the middle class among its rightful owners.

Of late years the Jewish population in Palestine, and in Jerusalem especially, has greatly increased in numbers. The community has also gained in power and importance. A building club has been established, and houses have, by means of Jewish co-operation, been built outside the city on the west. Many of the Jews are under British protection, and the total Jewish population of the Holy City is estimated as being from 8,000 to 10,000 souls; the trade of the town is rapidly falling into their hands, and they are buying up all the available land in the vicinity.

II.—Previous Attempts at Colonisation.

No attempt to develop the resources of Palestine has as yet proved successful, though several have been made. The reasons of the various failures will be seen on examining the method of the various communities which have made attempts at cultivating and civilising the country.

A favourite idea among writers of late has been that the land should be colonised by the Jews. Colonel Warren proposed that the Morocco Jews—who are known to have made excellent workmen in Gibraltar—should be induced to emigrate to Palestine. But this was actually attempted, without success, long before he visited Palestine. In 1850, A.D., a colony of thirty families of Mugrabee Jews settled at Shefa 'Amr in lower Galilee, near Nazareth—a town famous in Jewish literature as being the ancient Shafram where the Sanhedrin sat after leaving Jamnia. These colonists, or peasant Jews, cultivated corn and olives on their own land; yet, in a few years, they relinquished agriculture, and gradually withdrew to the seaport of Haifa, where their children are engaged in trade. The Jews in Palestine themselves remind Europeans that they are not an agricultural people.

Two important colonies have been founded in Palestine by a society of German Protestants, who denominate themselves the "Temple Society." In spite of the curious religious tenets of these peasants and mechanics, they have shown themselves very practical in their method of proceeding. The sites for the first settlements were wisely chosen in tolerably healthy

positions at the two ports of Jaffa and Haifa. Two neat villages have been erected, and in 1875 the Jaffa colony numbered over 200 souls and cultivated 400 acres; while that at Haifa numbered 300, and cultivated 700 acres.

Yet although both communities consist of sober, hard-working, domestic men, many being skilled artisans and all energetic and enterprising, they cannot be said to have been successful in their ambitious schemes for colonising the whole of Palestine and finally gaining possession of Jerusalem. They are divided among themselves; they have no leader of any capacity; and their cause is prejudiced in the eyes of practical and sensible men by their claim to represent the "true Israel," for whom they say the prophecies of a return to Palestine were intended —an idea not peculiar to Germans, but also shared by certain persons in England.

The Germans have never made friends with the native peasantry, whom they despise. They are, therefore, subject to continual persecution from the surrounding villages. They have never obtained title deeds to their possessions from the Turkish Government, and are liable to eviction at any time. Finally, want of money, and the entire unfitness of European constitutions for hard work in the fields under an Oriental sky, internal dissensions, mixed marriages, and individual self-seeking, are undermining the very existence of the community.

Near Jaffa are the lands of the "Mikveh Israel," better known as the Jaffa Agricultural School of the Alliance Israélite Universelle, consisting of 780 acres of market gardens, where Jewish children are trained and educated. This institution has also suffered from the hostility of the native population, and from the corruption of the Turkish Government.

It is said that 100,000 plants have been raised in the gardens of the Mikveh Israel and half a million vines. Unfortunately, however, the land is close to the great sand-dunes which bound the shore of Palestine, and which are being gradually blown inland by the sea breeze, advancing, it is said, a yard every year. These dunes threaten to invade the property, and to swallow up the gardens unless their course can be stayed by plantation.

The native peasantry are well worth a few words of description. They are brutally ignorant, fanatical, and, above all, inveterate liars; yet they have qualities which would, if developed, render them a useful population. They are naturally a clever and energetic race, industrious, and possessed of immense powers of endurance; their fortitude in bearing pain is remarkable, and their temperance and frugality enable them to endure the great heat of the sun when employed in the fields in a manner impossible for Europeans. They are good-natured and very docile under recognised authority. What is really wanted to improve their condition is: 1st. Impartial administration of justice; 2nd. A just system of taxation; 3rd. Security from the violence and exactions of the irregulars employed in levying the taxes. These three points are all included in the English scheme of reforms, which has been

signed by the Sultan, and it is earnestly to be hoped that the execution of these reforms, under the eye of England, may bring relief and prosperity to the down-trodden peasantry of the Holy Land.

In dealing with the fellahîn, Jewish settlers would have one great advantage. They would probably learn the language easily, for the peasant dialect is very close to the Aramaic or Chaldean, which we know was spoken as late as the fourth century in Palestine, and which is called in the Talmud "the language of the ignorant."

Two attempts at agriculture have been made on the sounder principle of employing native labour. The northern half of the plain of Esdraelon was bought by a Greek banker named Sursuk about 1872. He is said to have obtained possession of seventy square miles, with twenty villages, for the sum of £20,000. The taxes alone of the villages are rated at £4,000 a year, and the income, taking good and bad years together, cannot be less than £12,000 per annum. How so one-sided a bargain came to be made is a piece of secret Turkish history, perhaps never to be cleared up, but the title cannot be considered secure under the ordinary government of the country.

The well-known Jewish banking firm of Bergheim in Jerusalem have cultivated their farm of Abu Shusheh on the same principle observed by Sursuk, namely the employment of the natives of the place. A very little justice and kindness is enough to secure the affections of these poor peasants. The Bergheims own 5,000 acres, and have already introduced various European improvements. The native sheikh, or chief of the village, holds the position of foreman on the property, and the rest of the population obey him cheerfully. The younger Bergheims, well acquainted with the peasant dialect and with the customs and traditions of the country, are eminently fitted to manage the property. This settlement, conducted on sound principles by men who have command of money and experience of Palestine, ought to be a success.

The Bergheims, however, experience the same difficulty which lies at the root of every past, present, and future failure—the corruption of the Turkish Government. From the pacha down every official is venal and tyrannical. Nothing can be done with them without "buksheesh," and all their efforts are directed to the hindrance of an enterprise from which these harpies can gain nothing.

Native trade is killed by taxes on raw material, the peasantry are ground down by unjust taxation and shameless spoliation, agriculture is ruined by the conscription. The hills of Palestine might be covered with vines and the valleys run with oil, the plains might be yellow with corn and the harbours full of ships, but for the greedy pacha and the unjust judge.

III.—The Proper Method.

In the previous notes attention has been drawn to the capabilities of Palestine, and to the reasons why former attempts have failed to develop those capabilities. It is not any sterility of the country, any

change of climate, or any absence of cheap labour, which has to be feared. The failures have been due, first, to want of money; secondly, to the false principle of endeavouring to introduce foreign labour which could always be undersold by the peasantry; thirdly, to the hostility of the natives, which was only natural towards those who threatened to dispossess them of their land; last, but not least, to the passive resistance of Turkish bureaucracy and to the insecurity of title which has deterred capitalists from embarking money in the attempt to develop the land.

The true principle to be wrought out is not that of superseding native labour, but of employing it under educated supervision. The peasantry are an energetic and very stalwart race, with immense powers of endurance, seasoned to the climate, temperate, good-natured, and docile. They are accustomed to obey their chiefs and elders, and when they see any prospect of fair pay and just taxation they can be made to work very hard, as has been proved in more than one instance. They are a people capable of great improvement, their faults are those of an oppressed race, and their natural quickness and power of adaptation would render it easy to accustom them to European improved methods of agriculture if gradually introduced and not forced upon them.

The best way of enriching the country is by purchase of estates in convenient and fertile districts, and the employment of capital in cultivation of the native products. The richness of the crops and the variety of the produce would then yield an ample return, and Palestine might become the garden of the world, situate as it is in so accessible a position, with the great Mediterranean waterway so close to its corn plains and olive yards.

The policy of the owners of property in Palestine should be to encourage the revival of the ancient native chief families whom the Turks have endeavoured to exterminate, and to rule the people through their native chiefs, whom they are accustomed to respect. Responsible agents would be required in every village, and these should be selected from among Europeans, and not from the upper class of Syrians, nor from the mongrel Levantines, Greeks, or Maltese, for an enterprise committed to the honesty of such men, would, from the first, be doomed to failure.

In choosing the best centre for such operations, the two main requisites would be accessibility and healthiness. The country has no roads and no drainage. It is, therefore, necessary to begin in a district easily reached from the shore, and, at the same time, to avoid the malarious districts along the coast. For this reason the plains of Sharon and of Acre, the Jordan Valley, and the Jerusalem mountains, should be avoided at first. Jaffa is not a good port, for during the winter it is almost entirely closed, and the rugged mountain wall, west of Jerusalem, makes communication with the coast difficult.

Modern Palestine has only one real harbour. The ports of Tyre, Sidon, Cæsarea, and Jamnia, are closed, choked with sand, or artificially filled up. But in the centre of the coast line, the Bay of Acre is three miles broad, at the mouth of the Kishon, and eight miles long, and on

its south side the ridge of Carmel, reaching an altitude of 1,700 feet above the sea, runs out north-west and forms a promontory which breaks the force of the sea, while the hill affords shelter from the wind during the winter or autumn storms which beat from the south-west.

Under Carmel, in the hollow of the bay, lies the town of Haifa, the ancient Hephah of the Talmud ("the Haven"), famous for its Hilzon fishery, whence the Tyrian purple was derived. The town is walled, and has a population of 4,000, of whom 1,000 are Jews. It has a Jewish cemetery, and from the middle ages has been a favourite resort of the Hebrews. The Carmel bay is even now a roadstead which good-sized vessels can visit throughout the winter. At a small expense it might be converted into a valuable harbour. A mole running out in continuation of the Carmel ridge might easily be built of the limestone from the mountain, and there are still ruins of an ancient port near this headland. Not only is the harbour good, but the position of the place is most favourable as regards the remainder of the land. The broad plain of Esdraelon—the richest ground in Palestine—lies immediately inland, and joins the plains which stretch northwards from Carmel. The river Kishon runs down from Esdraelon to the sea near Haifa, and along its course the roads to the interior rise with easy gradients. Haifa has on the other side easy access to the plains of Sharon. The great corn harvest of the Hauran is brought on camels by the Arabs, by the highway from Jordan, to Acre, at the north end of the bay; the main roads to Damascus, to Beyrout, to Upper Galilee, and to Nâblus, all lead from Haifa.

It has lately been proposed to start the Euphrates Valley Railway from this port, and although the steep gradients in the Jordan Valley and the waterless deserts beyond may make this route impracticable, there can be no doubt that the railroad to Jerusalem should start here. The Jaffa-Jerusalem railway would be a work of great engineering difficulty, because of the sudden slopes of the hills, which have a rise of 500 feet in less than half a mile. A railway to Nâblus from Haifa, and thence along the backbone of the country, would be more easily constructed, and would form a more important line of communication leading to a better port. If the Jaffa line is ever made, it must follow the course of the Valley of Sorek, or it would never reach the watershed at all. It would be about fifty miles long, while the watershed line through Palestine would not be more than eighty, connecting Nâblus and Jerusalem with Haifa.

It is in the proximity of the Haifa port that the first possessions of our farmers would be situate. Not, indeed, on Carmel itself, which is rugged and steep, covered with copses and having little arable soil, though that soil is of excellent quality. Nor would it be in the malarious plains of Acre and Sharon, which should be reclaimed gradually, like the Maremma, by drainage and plantation.

South of Carmel, about twenty miles from Haifa on the southern border of lower Galilee, there is, however, a district well suited as a

starting point. It is called the "Breezy Land," and consists of open downs of chalk, the feet clothed on the west by a beautiful open woodland of oak. The downs rise to a height of about 1,000 feet above the sea; the village lands extend into the plain of Sharon on the one hand, and to the plain of Esdraelon on the other. Further south is the rich plain of Dothan, and further east the well-watered valley of Jezreel, full of springs and extending to Beth Shan, of which Rabbi Simon ben Lachish said, "If Paradise is to be found in Palestine its gate is at Beth Shan."

The western side of the plain of Esdraelon runs with water in fresh sparkling streams, and clear springs which, even in autumn, swell the Kishon. The ground is in many parts only occupied by wandering Turcomans, and is not cultivated at all. Towards the north the villages belong (or did in 1875) to the Sursuk family, and the rich corn harvests and peasant prosperity of the Sursuk villages contrasts forcibly with the desolation of the Turkish hamlets.

At the south end of the great plain is the charming village of Jenîn (En Gannim) with its palm groves and little stream. Corn, sesame, and millet, cotton, tobacco, and castor oil are cultivated in this district. The soil is a rich friable basaltic mud from the extinct volcanoes of Gilboa and Sheikh Iskander east and west of the plateau. Sugar might be grown at least in the Valley of Jezreel, and olives and figs abound on the western hills. This fertile district is easily reached either by the main road at the foot of Carmel, or by the route along Sharon, which intersects two ancient highways across the "Breezy Land."

The plain of Esdraelon is the part of Palestine which, if any military operations should be undertaken in the country, must be the scene of the decisive battle. Palestine is the natural bulwark of the Suez Canal—a country scarcely larger than Cyprus, surrounded by deserts and through which any hostile army *must* advance in order to reach Port Said.

An English occupation of this part of Palestine would have the great advantage that it would not conflict with French interest in the Holy Places. Jerusalem and Bethlehem are far south, Nazareth is north of this central district. The industrial and military centres are not in the towns which Christians agree in holding sacred. English occupation, or protection, would be an assistance to colonisation, or rather to farming by means of native labour. The English are favourites in the country. "England is the Sultan's sword," the peasants say, and while the Sultan as "head of the faith" holds a secure place in the affections of his people, the native Syrians are only too eager to carry out the "bag and baggage" policy, and to drive out the whole tribe of currupt and tyrannical rulers whom the Turks send to administer the country.

Insecurity will always deter capitalists from sinking money in the East. Given a strong, wise, just government, and the country may be trusted to assert its ancient reputation for fertility. So long as an unjust and weak tyranny prevails, the Bedawin nomads will from time to time

range over the fertile plains and the peasant will not dare to till the land. The only radical change required is the total abolition of the present official staff, from the pacha down to the lowest mudir or kaimakam.

The gradual change which might be wrought even by private enterprise would be astonishing. The ancient cisterns, wells, and aqueducts would first be cleaned and repaired, and the system of irrigation extended. The old Roman roads would be re-made of the good material which lies ready to hand; wheeled vehicles could then be introduced, tram-lines and railways would follow.

The headquarters would be fixed in the healthier hill villages, but the uncultivated districts in the plains would gradually be taken in; the ancient system of drainage which carried the streams through the low rock-wall west of the plain of Sharon, would be repaired, and thus the stagnating water would run into the sea again and the marshes would be reclaimed. Quick growing grass would check the encroachment of the sand dunes on the coast, and as there is no frost in the plains the blue gum tree (Eucalyptus Globulus) with other fast growing trees would be planted, and must materially affect the climate in time. As the colonisation spread to the higher hills, where frosts occur, the old vine cultivation would be revived, Beth Laman and Beth Rima might again be famous for their wine, Tekoa and Netophah for their olives, Michmash for its wheat, and Jericho for its palms.

The scheme thus proposed may, however, appear too large to be of any great present interest, and unless a general movement towards the country occurred, the change effected in its climate and productions would be very small, but the preceding remarks will serve to show that there is nothing in the present physical condition of the country or in the character of its native inhabitants to deter those who may be interested in the development of the country. Palestine requires nothing but good government, an increased population and civilised cultivation to restore its prosperity.

The double object of promoting agricultural and mechanical education and enterprise is of primary importance for the future of the land, and it cannot be doubted that the remarkable linguistic talents of the Jews would give them great advantages over other Europeans. Palestine is said to have been so drained of men and money during the late war that the present time cannot fail to be a good one for the introduction of even moderate capital into the country; but the condition of the country, without roads or public works of any kind, seems to render agriculture more probably remunerative than mechanical employment. There is, however, no doubt an opening for such trades as smiths, carpenters, joiners, weavers, &c., for the native work is rude and clumsy, while the German productions are too expensive for general use.

It is with a sincere interest in the future of Palestine that these lines are written, and with a conviction that the duty of that influential

people which once ruled the land, is to support with the whole weight of their influence those projects for reform which at present seem to give the only hope of prosperity for the Holy Land.

C. R. CONDER.

ZOAR.

WHERE was the *little* city to which Lot escaped from Sodom?

It may be visited from Jericho without much trouble, unless the rapid Jordan be swollen with water and Sheik Goblan with greed. Only a mighty man among the Gadites would defy both. (1 Chron. xii. 15.)

We propose to demonstrate the precise *position* of the long-lost survivor of the cities of the plain, grateful to the American Exploration Society for a *name* which is the very name we want, and hopeful that an intelligent traveller will carefully describe its *ruins*, of which we can speak only at a venture.

(A) As to the position.

The Biblical evidence is conclusive; it is, needless, therefore, to refer to Josephus, Jerome, &c. As camp-followers or prisoners, they are in this case but encumbrances.

Geological investigation has brought to light the fact that the Jordan, within historic times, can never have flowed into the Red Sea, but must have terminated in the Dead Sea, now 1,300 feet below the level of the ocean.

1. From the heights near Bethel, Lot "beheld all the plain of Jordan, that it was well watered everywhere, before the Lord destroyed Sodom and Gomorrah," &c. (Gen. xiii. 10). As the southern end of the Dead Sea and the western side of the plain near Jericho are hidden from these heights by intervening mountains, we should be predisposed to think that Zoar near Sodom was at the *north* end of the Dead Sea and on the *eastern* side of the plain. The expression, "Lot journeyed east," also inclines us to infer the same.

Abraham, near Hebron, "*looked toward* Sodom and Gomorrah and toward all the land of the plain" (Gen. xix. 28). It is not said of him, as of Lot, that he *beheld* Sodom, &c., so that this passage is neutral in the controversy.

2. The four kings returning from Kadesh (from the south) "smote also the Amorites that dwelt in Hazezon-Tamar"—which is Engedi (2 Chron. xx. 2). "And there went out the king of Sodom . . and they joined battle with them in the vale of Siddim" (Gen. xiv. 7, 8). If the cities of the plain were at the south end of the Dead Sea, then the invaders must have marched half way up on its western side to Hazezon-Tamar, then turned back to Sodom, and then retraced their steps northwards once more. This is absurd; therefore we conclude that Zoar and the cities of the plain could not possibly have been at the southern, but, of necessity, at the northern end of the Dead Sea.

The Hebrew word for *plain* (*ciccar*) points to the same conclusion, being used topographically only of the valley of the Jordan.

3. The magnificent panorama visible from the top of Pisgah settles the question before us once and for ever. "The Lord showed Moses all the land of Gilead, unto Dan, and all Naphtali; and the land of Ephraim, and Manasseh, and all the land of Judah unto the utmost sea, and the south, and the plain (Heb., *ciccar*) of the valley of Jericho, the city of palm trees, unto Zoar" (Deut. xxxiv. 1-3). Prof. Paine, the American explorer, correctly observes: "The order in the demonstration of the land was from a neighbouring district on the north to the extreme south, and round by a return to the nearest place in view, Jericho, and then naturally it went on to Zoar, a point nearer the land of Gilead, the place of departure. It would be unnatural and unaccountable to go back from Jericho to a point at the southern end of the Dead Sea, having once passed over that region, and then stop there. . . Let Zoar be in the plain on this (*i.e.*, east) side Jordan northward near the base of the mountains. It will then be in full view from Pisgah." Dr. Tristram ("Land of Moab," 333) had previously observed: "The narrative is describing the panorama from north to south, and ends by the feature nearest the spectator—*i.e.*, the city in front of him. Now we detected these ruins (Zi'ara) while standing on Nebo."

What Mr. Grove first, I believe, declared to be highly probable, these arguments, old and new, demonstrate to be perfectly certain—viz., that the Zoar of the Pentateuch was at the north end of the Dead Sea, and on the east side of the valley. We are *sure* now of its *general* position; we have yet to discover the *very spot* where it once stood.

(B) As to the name.

"Zoar we seem to owe to Dr. Tristram," so wrote Lieut. Conder. But what is the force of "*seem*"? Does he question the identification or the identifier? To solve the mystery I referred to a "Land of Moab," unhappily mapless—or rather, happily so for Zoar.

It is identified with Zi'ara (p. 330), and (329) it is also stated: "The ground fell in terraces for 3,000 feet to the Jordan valley."

This identification is cruel, because it would compel poor Lot and his tender daughters to traverse at least four miles of dreary mountain, and climb some 3,000 feet in order to be safe, and all this in the short hour between "when the morning arose," and when "the sun was (just?) risen upon the earth." The angels first said, "Escape to the mountain." Lot then pleaded for something less; Zi'ara would require more.

Its elevation is too great, for Zoar was obviously one of the cities of the plain and *in* the plain.

For lack of the map in the "Land of Moab" I was driven to refer to that of the American Society, 1875, in the hope of first finding Zi'ara, and then some name at the foot of the mountains which might stand for Zoar.

The best I could find was Tell esh Shâghur, situated at the point where Wady Hesbân opens into the plain.

In Jer. xlviii. 34, we read: "From the cry of Hesbon *even* unto Elealeh, and *even* unto Jahaz, have they uttered their voice, from Zoar even unto Horonaim," &c.

As Elealeh is north of Hesbon, and Jahaz apparently south, it was easy to conjecture that "*from Zoar even unto Horonaim*" was a line from *west* to east, and the map gave Tell esh Shâghur as nearly *west* of Hesban. This was another point gained.

The LXX (with but one exception) render Zoar, by the word Σηγώρ (Segor), a still nearer approach to Shâghur. But the last shadow of doubt as to the fact that Tell esh Shâghur really means the "Hill of Zoar" seems to vanish, when we find that the Hebrew equivalent for Z becomes at times in Arabic Sh—*e.g.*, Shûfa, derived from Zophim (*Quarterly Statement*, 1877, p. 39), and the equivalent for "A" in Zoar becomes Gh in Arabic—*e.g.*, Azzah (Hebrew for Gaza) becomes the modern Ghuzzeh.

It seems, then, to me that in Tell esh Shâghur, happily marked on the American map, we have the very site and name of ancient Zoar. The native name clings to the neighbourhood. Mr. Finn speaks of Um Sheggar; Dr. Tristram of M'Shuggar; the American map also gives Mushâqqâr.

Sodom must have been near Zoar on the west, and there are other Tells in that direction. "The vale of Siddim, which is the salt sea," is, as the words stand, a geological impossibility, *if* "*which*" *refers to the* "*vale.*" But as the doctors (Aben Ezra, Genesius, &c.) disagree as to the meaning of "*Siddim,*" why not maintain that "*which*" explains "*Siddim*" as being the "*Salt Sea,*" so called in the language, it may be, of the Emims (Deut. ii. 11), or else if Sidd means a cliff, translate "the valley of the cliff of the sea"—*i.e.*, the salt sea, if such a rendering be possible. Siddim can hardly be an Hebrew word, from the difficulty there is in dealing with it. When a great thinker ventures to hold the New Testament responsible for monkish tradition—*e.g.*, in regard to the place of the baptism of the Ethiopian Eunuch ("Supernatural Religion," vol. iii.), surely it is better not to maintain a geological impossibility in the Old Testament by continuing to assume that "*which*" refers to "*vale,*" and not to "*Siddim,*" or its last syllable "im."

With Zoar is associated the ascent of Luhith. Isa. xv. 5, states: "His fugitives shall flee unto Zoar . . . for by the mounting up of Luhith," and Jer. xlviii. 5: "In the going up of Luhith" (see lxx. 4, 5). I believe nothing whatever has been known about Luhith.

At Tell esh Shâghur begins the ascent of the pass to Hesbon.

Consul Finn travelled this way in May, 1855, and reports ("Byeways in Palestine," p. 11):—

"Our road lay up the hills, constantly growing more steep and precipitous, and occasionally winding between large rocks, which were often overgrown with honeysuckle in full luxuriance. The Arabs scrambled like wild animals over the rocks, and brought down very long streamers of honeysuckle—*Luwâyeh*, as they call it—which they wound round and round the necks of our horses."

Shall we hesitate to see in the name Luwâyeh the modern representative of Luhith, and to believe that the pass derived its name from the honeysuckle, in which it doubtless abounded then, as now?

Just as in the English Lake District a natural object has given us the Kirkstone Pass, so another gave to Palestine the "Honeysuckle Pass."

Luhith is commonly derived from a Hebrew word meaning "boards," but from the above coincidence I suspect it really comes from another very similar word signifying to weave or twist as a crown or garland.

(C) As to the ruins.

Tell esh Shâghur is merely marked on the American map as a hill, just on the south bank of Wady Hesbân, near the foot of the mountains, a mile east of Tell er Râmeh. No description is given of it, as far as I know.

It seems to me, however, so extremely probable that Canon Tristram ("Land of Moab," 347) unconsciously describes Zoar (or else its cemetery), that at the risk of being wrong I transcribe his words. He had been descending Wady Hesbân on its south side, and (on the same side, we may hope), to use his own words, "We descended on the edge of the Ghor Seisaban and entered on an open, undulating plateau.

"On the last rocky eminence which pushed forward into it were the most perfect primæval remains we had found in the country. Round the slightly-elevated crest at the western end of the ridge was a perfect circle of dolmens, each composed of three upright and one covering stone. Several of them had fallen, but the stones were in their places, and it was clear that they had been arranged in a circle round a great cairn, or central pile of stones, which crowned the "tell," and doubtless marked the burial-place of some hero, famous in his day, but who lived before Agamemnon."

If this hill should indeed prove to be Tell esh Shâghur, then the Gospel harmonists will perhaps hereafter allow that our Lord previous to *passing through* Jericho may have beheld these very monuments of ancient Zoar or at least the plain of Sodom while he uttered those solemn words, "Remember Lot's wife."

W. F. Birch.

TRANSFERENCE OF SITES.

Talking the other day about the traditions of the Holy Sepulchre, and that many of them were traditions which belonged originally to the Temple Mount, it was suggested that a few notes on the Transference of Sites would be interesting. On considering the subject, it is doubtful if this is a correct title to express in all cases the true idea relating to this matter; Transference of Tradition would be even more doubtful. Identity of Tradition attached to Sacred Sites comes nearer, and the question of transference would be thus left out, or at least would not be

assumed as a necessary inference by the writer. The title adopted is, however, the simplest, and with this explanation it may be retained.

The sacrifice of Isaac is undoubtedly an event which belongs to the Temple Mount; the name Moriah is given in connection with it in Gen. xxii. 2. Josephus (Ant. i. 13. 1, 2) states that it was "the mountain Moriah," and that Abraham took Isaac "to that mountain, upon which King David afterwards built the Temple." This event is, at the present day, located at the Holy Sepulchre; the bush where the ram was caught entangled is now shown in the Abyssinian Convent; it is an old thorn, and pilgrims hang rags of bright colours on it. Here is what would be called the Transference of a Site, or the Transference of a Tradition. This is not the only case; Jerusalem was considered to be the centre of the earth. Where would that central point be? It could not have been at the spot which was afterwards to be the Holy Sepulchre, for that was "without the wall," and consequently not in Jerusalem. We must naturally conclude that it would be in the Temple,—for it was to the Temple that the Jews turned in prayer when in places distant from Jerusalem. We have an illustration of this in the Jews' wailing-place at the present day. Benjamin of Tudela associates the spot as connected with the Holy of Holies. The centre to which they turn is within the Haram Area, and not at the Holy Sepulchre. It is also the custom of the Jews to "orient" their synagogues to Jerusalem. That the Jews and Christians also accepted the same idea we can prove, according to Eutychius, from the words of Sophronius, the patriarch of Jerusalem, to Omar, who describes the place which he allots for the building of a Temple:—"I give to the Commander of the Faithful a place where he may build a temple, which the Grecian Emperors were unable to build; viz., the Rock on which God spoke to Jacob, which Jacob called the Gate of Heaven, and the Israelites the Holy place of Israel, and is held by them in such veneration that, wherever they are, they turn their faces towards it when they pray." This quotation gives us, so far, the ideas entertained on this point by Jews and Christians towards the end of the ninth century. Under a theoretic form of government, the centre was the seat of religion and power. It is a symbol to which many oriental ideas can be traced and explained. The Emperor of Delhi was called the "Centre of the Universe." Buddha was a Chakra-varta Rajah, but the Chakra is the wheel or circle of universal power, and the Chakra implies a centre. In the Judaic system, the seat of supreme power was the Temple, that was the true local of the centre. According to the Mohammedan belief the Sakrah is the centre of the world (see "History of Jerusalem," by Walter Besant and E. H. Palmer, p. 419). At this day, however, the centre of the world is pointed out to pilgrims in the nave of the Greek Church, at a point facing and not far from the door of the Holy Sepulchre. Adam's Grave seems to be a purely Christian tradition; but had the Jews made use of that as a type or figure, the Temple ought to have been the shrine of this holy place. Perhaps this may not be a familiar subject to most readers, and it would lead far beyond the limits

of this article to deal with it. At present the position of Adam's grave is shown in the Holy Sepulchre, and in connection with the rock of Calvary. The traditional grave of Adam has been transferred, or, it might be better to say, is believed also to exist in Hebron and in Mecca. For this last, see *Quarterly Statement*, April, 1877, p. 92. For Adam's Grave at Hebron, see Conder's "Tent Work in Palestine," vol. ii., p. 83, according to which Adam's tomb did exist in Hebron, but has now disappeared. It was shown in the time of Arculfus, as "not far" from the tombs of the patriarchs (Bede, B. V., chap. xviii). The place where the red earth was taken from to make Adam is shown at Hebron ("Tent Work," v. II. p. 84), and according to Dr. Manning's work on Palestine, p. 101, published by the Religious Tract Society, the same spot is shown in the Holy Sepulchre.

At Mount Gerizim we have another transference or identity of tradition. Rivalry of closely allied faiths seems to have something to do with the matter—for here the Samaritans believe that "King Joshua" founded their temple, on this mountain they have their Sacred Rock, the counterpart of the Sakrah at Jerusalem—this they believe is the site of their altar, and to this "they turn in prayer, wherever they may be" ("Underground Jerusalem," by Captain Warren, p. 218). Close to this is the spot where, according to the Samaritan tradition, Abraham offered up Isaac; "here also Melchizedek met Abraham and received his tithes." "Here Jacob dreamed his dream, and he called the name of that place Bethel; but the name of that city was called Luz at the first." "Here, also, was the altar that Jacob built on his return from Padan-Aram, and called Elelohe Israel. On this holy of holies the Ark rested," &c., &c. (*Ibid.* p. 219). Thus we find what seems to be a natural tendency of these traditions to gather round what may be called a sacred centre of worship.

Connected with the Sakrah at Jerusalem there are associated all the principal events of Scripture history, such as the Creation of Adam; it was the site of Paradise; Noah's Ark rested on the spot; Abraham's Sacrifice was offered; and it was also the place of Jacob's dream; all the rivers of the world flow from under this Sacred Rock—clearly a transference of the symbolical four streams of the first Eden. The mediæval travellers who visited Jerusalem repeat all these traditions. Sir John Mandeville gives a very long list of events connected with the Sakrah, making it the scene of New Testament as well as Old Testament history. The Mohammedans have long held this sacred spot, and to them we no doubt in this case get the localising of some of these traditions—and it is important to note that this tendency is not peculiar to any one faith.

The Sakrah, according to some theorists, has nothing to do with the original temple. The Bordeaux Pilgrim mentions a "*lapis pertusus*," to which the Jews came and wailed; this, Mr. Fergusson thinks, was a stone, "bored with two holes," mentioned in the Middoth, which stood at the south-west cornerof the spot where his theory places the altar of

the Temple. This was the corner stone of the altar, and "was the Sakrah not only of the Jews, but at one time of the Saracens also" ("The Temples of the Jews," p. 184). Now the present Sakrah is a "holed stone," or *lapis pertusus;* a large hole communicates with the cave below, but it stands about 500 feet to the north of the position given to it by Mr. Fergusson, thus suggesting, according to his theory, a very important transference of site. In the Black Stone at the Kaaba of Mecca we have perhaps some of the earlier traditions which the Mohammedans transferred to the Sakrah. This Black Stone is the "corner stone" of the Kaaba; it is a veritable bit of Paradise, and will return to whence it came on the last day. Here is no doubt the source of the tradition that when Mohammed made his "night journey" from the Sakrah, that the Holy Rock wished to ascend with him, and was actually doing so when the Angel Gabriel held it down, leaving the impression of the hand, which is shown to pilgrims at the present day. At least we have here an identity of tradition in the belief that both are to go to heaven at the last day. The Mohammedan pilgrims perform the Tawwaf, or circuit round the stone, as they do round the Kaaba, with its stone, the only difference being, according to Professor Palmer ("Jerusalem," p. 418), that they must be careful to reverse the direction of the circuit; at Jerusalem they must pass round with their right hand to the rock, and at Mecca with the left. The Black Stone is the sacred object which makes the Holy House—the "Beit Allah"—the Kibleh, or the central point of prayer, and to that spot the faithful turn in prayer from all parts of the world. This we have seen is the case with the Samaritans at Mount Gerizim, and it is a very important identity, for it tends to confirm the tradition which comes to us that the Jews had also a Sacred Rock, the Eben Shatiyeh, or "Stone of Foundation's Foundation," in their temple, and which no doubt was their sacred centre. In the Mishna it is stated in relation to the Holy of Holies, that, "when the Ark was removed a stone was there from the days of the first prophets, and it was called "Foundation." It was three digits high above the earth, and upon it he (the high priest) put the censer. This may find confirmation in the repeated use of the rock in a symbolical sense in the Old Testament. Deut. xxxii. may be referred to, where it will be found as a type of the Most High. Strange to say that the Hadjis pray to the Black Stone, and although in all other cases they are true to their idol-abhorring rules, yet they address it as "Allah." Burton in his book says that in thus praying to it, and asking for mercy and pardon, in which case he did like the others, he raised his hand to the stone and kissed the finger tips of his right hand. Near the same corner where the stone is placed is the Well of Zem-Zem, the water of which the pilgrim drinks and also uses to wash with, thus destroying all power of sin. Here no doubt is the source of the Mohamedan tradition of the waters under the Sakrah. Exodus xvii. 6 might also be the original story.

In some of the cases mentioned the Transference of Site is evident;

in one or two of the instances we see that the tradition has been transferred from one side to another, while, on the other hand, many of these sacred spots are of such an antiquity that we cannot say which was the earliest. No doubt but there must have been priority somewhere, but many of these ideas began so far back in the past that we can only now speak of their similarity as the identity of tradition. We can see clearly enough that there was a tendency to locate certain traditions at each holy place. There seems to have been a common property in the ancient religious history of these people, but at times they differed as to the scene of the event, and we see that it was the position of the Sacred Centre which led to this. Wherever their Central Temple was, there they placed the scene of the main events of their sacred history. When this important principle is realised a ruling idea is reached, which may serve so far as a guide, and when applied to any of these sacred localities one may almost predicate a certain set of traditions as belonging to them. It is not very difficult to give suggestions which will so far explain why the one spot was the supposed scene of so many events. The Temple was the accepted place of the Divine Presence. Being so, it became the scene of His works, and more especially of those great typical events which had a reference to Man and the Divine System. The Temple or Church is the theatre of the sacred drama, and as all the scenes have as types the same meaning to enforce, they belong naturally to the one piece, and there was no incongruity to the primitive mind in supposing that they were all performed on the same stage. When the subject is considered from a symbolical point of view, this becomes the true way of regarding it. The craftsman is taught that everything takes place on "the floor of the lodge," and the floor of the lodge is the top of Mount Moriah, thus presenting us with a most effective illustration from the region of "signs and symbols." It will also be noticed that this gives us a case of "Transference of Site" which takes place at the opening of every masonic lodge, and the explanation of which is to be found only in symbolism, and does not require us to fall back on the knavery of Priests and the blind credulity of Mankind, which are the usual modes of accounting for such things. This production of a site in virtue of some function, or from ceremonies being performed at it, is of importance as explaining the probable cause of transference. In some cases we can have no hesitation on the subject, but there are others where the figurative phrase may, from our scant knowledge, lead us to believe that the spot is the real and original site of the event. A good illustration of this may be given. Not long ago I saw over the door of a church in Brighton, noted for its tendency to a high ritual, the words "This is God's House and the Gate of Heaven." Now these are the words applied by Jacob to Bethel. The slightest consideration will bring home to the mind the idea that "Gate of Heaven" is a title which belongs to the Church, or it might be applied to any house of prayer, and that there need be no dispute between Brighton and Bethel as to which of them has got the portal leading to

a better world. "The keys of St. Peter," supposed to be in the possession of the Pope, would imply that the "Gate of Heaven" was at Rome; but it is only a continuation of the symbolism contained in Jacob's words. We have seen that Sophrinius spoke of a rock at Jerusalem, on which God spoke to Jacob, and "which Jacob called the Gate of Heaven." Sophrinius was the Christian patriarch, but the Mohammedans believe that Mohammed began his night journey from the Sakrah, thus giving it a claim to be the Gate of Heaven. They also accept it as the locale of Jacob's dream. This is often referred to, in language bordering on contempt, as being "only a Mohammedan tradition," but the difference is scarcely perceptible between the traditional Mohammedan and the ritualistic Christian. In the one case there is no danger of our being led astray, but in the other, if we had not accurate knowledge, we might be led into a difficult question as to whether Jerusalem or Bethel was the real site of Jacob's dream. Another good illustration of this tendency to evolution is found in the making of Calvarys, and known in many cases as the "Holy Sepulchre," all over Europe, each with the "Stations," at which the worshipper prays as at the Holy Sepulchre. This Transference of Site is still more completely carried out at Easter by the construction of a tomb in the churches to represent the Holy Sepulchre. In England these were called "Easter sepulchres," and in some cases the angels, soldiers, and the three Maries were all represented by priests, who acted and spoke, repeating the words at the tomb as given by the evangelists, thus dramatising the story to make it more realistic; and all this was done without the slightest idea of imposture. If such things were done in Jerusalem there could have been but small difficulty, supposing that the real sepulchre had been lost, in thus evolving a new one. It would be one of the simplest, and at the same time one of the most natural of operations; and it is this very simplicity—this natural action of the human mind—which has led to the complicated puzzle about the site of the Holy Sepulchre. If, as Mr. Fergusson thinks, the dome of the rock had been the real sepulchre, and had been taken from the Christians, and they were left without a shrine, it would have been almost impossible for them to avoid evolving a new one. The realistic character of the ritual, and the natural tendency to represent localities as well as persons, which was essential to the dramatic style of the ceremonies, would require but a very short space of time to clothe any spot with all the attributes of a sacred place. Let any one go to Jerusalem at Easter, even in our own day, and watch the Russian pilgrims, unlettered peasants, to whom archæological doubts and difficulties are unheard of, and we have a fair example of what the early pilgrims must have been—point to a stone, mutter the name of a saint, and they are on their knees in an instant kissing it. With such conditions sacred sites come quicker into existence than a crop of mushrooms.

The Santa Casa of Loreto comes in as a good case of the transference of a site. A visit I made to that shrine about a year ago led me to

consider the problem as to how such a story could have come into existence, and the conclusion I arrived at was that of natural growth, instead of the usual one of a concocted imposture. The house at Nazareth existed as late as 1291, but in that year the Saracens, under the Sultan Khalit, took the place, and the monks were no doubt turned out. The tradition is that the house went first to the town of Tersate, or Flumen, in Dalmatia, where it remained for three years, coming over to the Italian side of the Adriatic on the 10th Dec. 1294. Now, supposing that when the monks left Nazareth, and they carried off whatever they could belonging to the church, the figure, "framed by St. Luke," of the Virgin;* would no doubt be carefully preserved. Such a precious relic would certainly have been an object of sanctity wherever it went. Crowds would be attracted, and the place would become a shrine. We can easily imagine how the monks would be questioned about such a sacred spot as the house where the Virgin had lived in. How often they would have to describe every detail, and it would not be long till the idea would occur of making a house of similar size and appearance. Such a proceeding would be in perfect keeping with the times. No deception would be intended, but when the house once existed, the step from its being understood as only a representation, till it was believed to be the veritable house from Nazareth, would be very short indeed. The story of a house flying through the air is not one that would occur to any person who wished really to deceive, something nearer to the limits of probability would have been selected. It is by getting the figure of the Virgin coming from Nazareth as a starting point, and the dates given above make it likely that it was brought from the Holy Land by the monks, which suggests a reasonable and probable origin of the tradition, and in this we have one of the most remarkable transference of a site on record. Supposing the theory here suggested should be correct, it would give some interest in the Santa Casa, for being made by the men who had just come from Nazareth, it may be assumed to be a fair copy of the original. In this view it becomes a record of some value. It is formed of stone, and not of brick, as generally described. There are some remains of old paintings on the walls. Loretto naturally recalls the Scala Santa at Rome, in which, according to Murray, the "stairs consist of twenty-eight marble steps, stated by the Church tradition to have belonged to Pilate's house, and to have been the identical ones which our Saviour descended when he left the Judgment Seat." In these cases a new site is produced by the transference, or at least supposed transference, of the structures connected with events. In the Coronation Stone at Westminster we have the transference of an object, and with its legendary character of being "Jacob's Pillar," we have transfered with it some of the attributes which have been already

* This celebrated "*vierge noire*," is said to be made from cedar, and the work of St. Luke. It is 2ft. 8in. high, and stands in a shrine over the altar, for the Santa Casa has been made into a chapel. It was carried off to France by the French in 1797, and brought back to Loretto on the 8th December, 1802.

alluded to as belonging to the Sakrah, the Sacred Rock of Gerizim, and the Black Stone of Mecca, as central points of faith. At the present time there is no religious signification attached to it, but as the Coronation Stone, it becomes the centre on which our monarchs receive their power and authority to rule over the kingdom. It is thus, in a secular sense, the Eben Shatiyeh, or "Stone of Foundation," of the Government of this country. The attributes possessed by this stone can no doubt be explained from what we know of Celtic archæology, still the identity of ideas is in this case, as it gives us a sacred stone, with something of the character of a Sakrah, which has been transferred within an altar, so close to the centre of our political system, is worthy of consideration in relation to this subject.

To return to the dome of the rock. The Cathedral at Bosrah, which is figured in Fergusson's last work on "The Temples of the Jews," the date of whose completion is 512 A.D., presents such an identity in its general design, as well as in its details, that it should be considered that in this there is at least one point settled. The section of the Baptistery of St. John Lateran, given in the same book, is a further confirmation on this head. There is one point which weighs strongly with me as evidence that the building was not erected as a mosque, and I am rather surprised that I have not seen it noticed by any of the numerous writers on this subject. When I visited the spot, on the theory that the place was a mosque, I looked out for the Mihrab, but in its place there is a door *opening towards the Kiblah* at Mecca, and the Mihrab is placed on the left hand, where no Mohammedan architect could possibly have arranged it, if he had designed the building at first, and proving that it is *a later insertion*.*

If the architecture of the dome of the rock permitted of the theory that it was built by Mahomedans, the only supposition that would explain it would be that it was constructed as a Kiblah, like the Caaba, which is not an ordinary mosque, and changed afterwards. According to the Mahomedan historians, Omar seemed to have been uncertain as to what ought to be the direction of prayer at Jerusalem. The tradition of the Night Journey, which had been related by the prophet himself to Omar, I should say, must have been the reason of this, for that story gave the spot a claim to the character of being "the Gate of Heaven," and as the rock tried to ascend with Mahomed it thus got transferred to it the attribute which belongs to the Black Stone, of being a veritable bit of paradise, and that it will go upwards on the last day.

We have here the suggestion of a possibility that the building forming the visible centre of a faith may be of a peculiar construction, and entirely different from all its other temples.

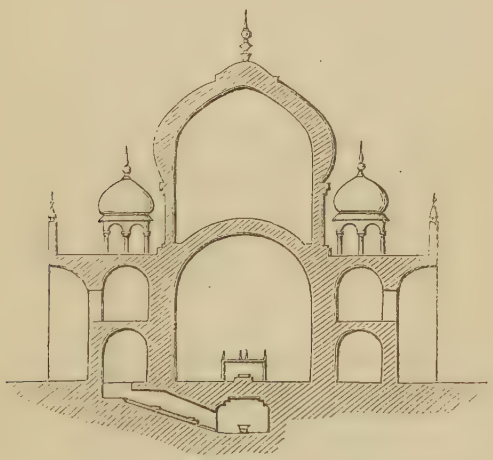
Lieutenant Conder's statement of the rock levels round the Sakrah is

* It has been pointed out by the Count de Vogüé, and it is strongly insisted by Prof. Palmer (see Jerusalem, Besant and Palmer), that the dome was never built for a mosque at all, but is identical with a wely or oratory, over a Muslim saint's tomb.

of some value, and tells so far, but does not seem to me to be demonstrative evidence—perhaps I undervalue its force. At the same time I would say that the absence of rock on the surface, or on the level, at the point where Mr. Fergusson's theory places the Holy of Holies, is a weak feature on his side. I allude to these only before giving what has all along been to me the greatest difficulty in Mr. Fergusson's views. The position Mr. Fergusson gives to the Temple, in order to leave the present Sakrah "without the gate," or without the wall, till the cave under it became the Holy Sepulchre, is to me very hard to accept. The cave, according to this theory, could not have been ever used before as a tomb, "for it was a new one in which no man had lain." It is, I think, difficult to believe that such a very remarkable rock, and its singular association with a cave, forming the summit of the mount, could have been left out, and receive no functional character in connection with the Temple and its worship till the death of Christ. The force of this point of view is a matter of probabilities, and I submit that this must have been highly improbable. Mount Gerizim has a cave on its summit in connection with its sacred rock. The region all round is noted for its sacred caves. Mr. Fergusson's own adopted term of "Tree-Worship" may be followed, and Palestine might be called a land where *cave-worship* is the striking peculiarity. In our own day Christian and Moslem have their shrines in caves. In Hebron, and Bethlehem, and Jerusalem almost every holy place is a cave, and yet, perhaps, the most remarkable of all these caves is that which exists on the highest point of the Temple Mount; so striking a feature is it that I cannot believe but that it must from a very early period have been looked upon as a sacred spot. Indeed, if the question were put, why did this height receive its first character of sanctity, the probability, I should say, was owing to this remarkable circumstance of the cave on its summit. I do not think we must necessarily assume that the Temple stood on the highest point, it may have been lower down, but were I to attempt a restoration of the old plan of Jerusalem the wall would be made to enclose the Sakrah. As a question of defence I should think that the military engineers would take this view of it also. On the north side of the platform on which the Dome of the Rock stands there is yet visible a depression, and it is this lateral hollow which gives to the ground on the south of it the character entitling it to be called a "mount." The Middoth calls it the "Mountain of the House." I think I am supported in this by the words of Josephus (A. J. xv. 11. 3), where he says: "This hill it was which Solomon, who was the first of our kings, by Divine revelation, encompassed with a wall." Immediately after he repeats this: "This hill was walled all round," and again he distinctly declares that these walls were joined together "as a part of the hill to the very top." Ezekiel's vision is supposed to have been based upon the Temple, and he confirms the words of Josephus, "This is the law of the house; upon the top of the mountain the whole limits thereof round about shall be most holy. Behold this is the law of the house" (Ez. xliii. 12). A passage in Conder's "Tent-Work in Palestine" (vol. i.,

p. 366), on the separation of the Temple hill might mislead. He there refers to a rock-cut trench forty feet deep, which separates the traditional Antonia from the Mahomedan quarter. This may be the military and defensive separations, but the lateral valley on the north side of the Dome of the Rock is the original condition which made the spot a "mount:" without this depression the site of the Temple would only have been the lower end of a spur.

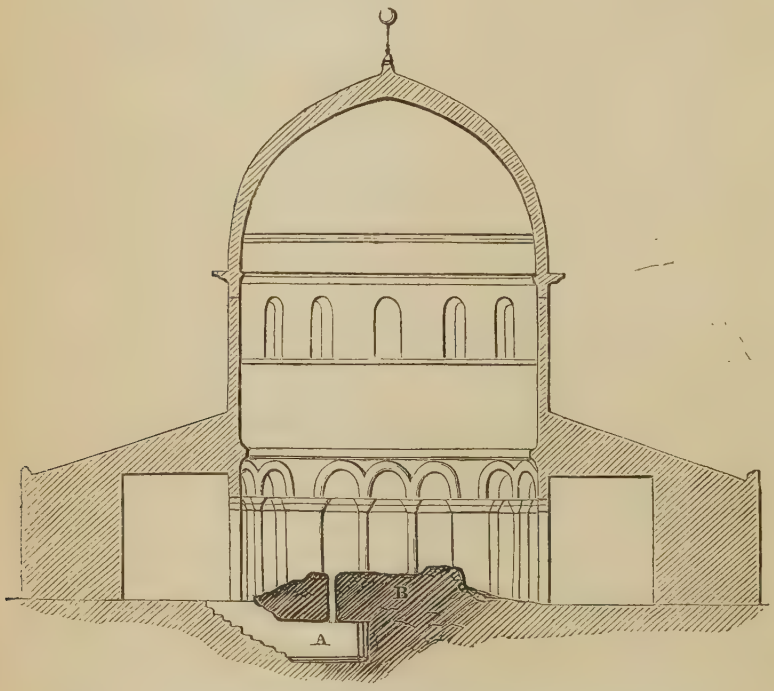
The Dome of the Rock, considered as a temple, is one of the most impressive shrines I have seen. No doubt but the dim light and the rich mosaics and colour from old stained glass help much to produce part of the effect, but the real source of the influence is the rough-looking mass of rock which forms the floor under the dome. At



SECTION OF TAJ MAHAL, AGRA.

first it looks as original and untouched with a tool as the top of a highland mountain. A canopy of green, red, and yellow silk hangs picturesquely above it, and no marble floor, however artistically designed, or minutely or carefully wrought, could possibly affect the mind of the visitor as this grey and solemn mass of rock. I could accept a sanctity as belonging to it which could never be derived from sculptured stones or anything built by the hand of man. I know of no temple equal to this for its effect on the mind, and my experience of such places extends over the whole of India, and as far as Tibet, China, and Japan. The curious thing is that this splendid place of worship is as yet a puzzle, an archæological nut of the hardest kind to crack—not that we are deficient in theories—the difficulty is as to which is the true one. One explanation offered is that it is the building erected over the Holy Sepulchre by Constantine. This idea is supported by the theory that the archi-

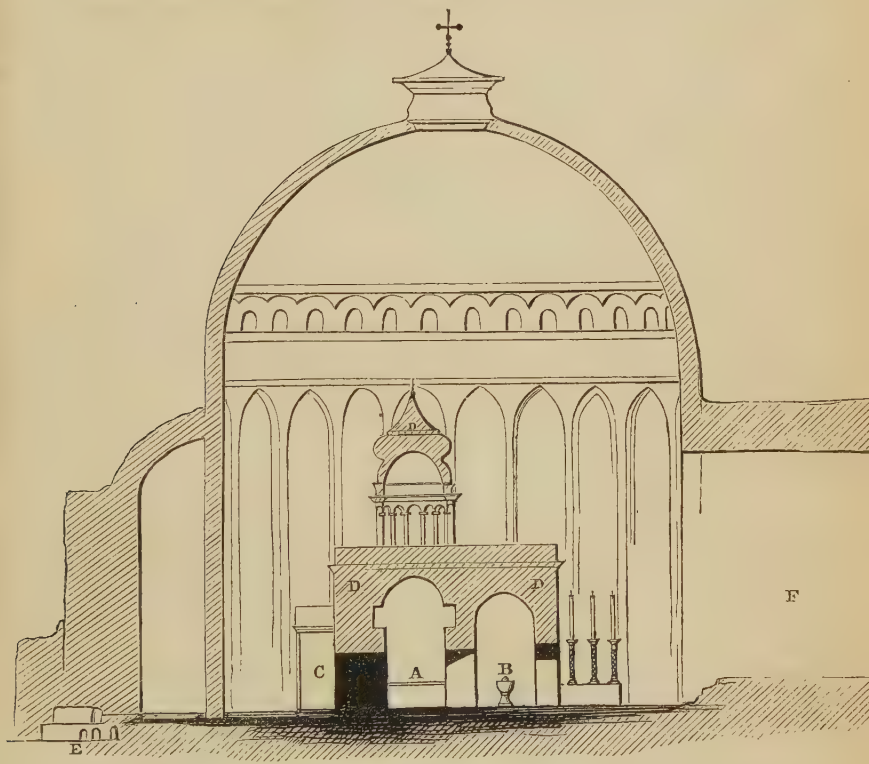
tecture agrees with the period of that Emperor, and also by the fact that the arrangement of the building is identical with so many oriental tombs, and strikingly so with all the principal tombs of India. There seems to have been a typical idea of a tomb, which may be traced all over the east, and which in large and important examples assumed certain main features, and these features are to be found in the dome of the rock. If we take the Taj Mahal at Agra, or the tomb of Mahmad at Beejapoor, we have a large square or octagonal structure surmounted by a dome. Instead of the sepulchral cave, as in the Dome of the Rock, there are in



DOME OF THE ROCK.

these cases constructed chambers below the surface which contained the body; under the dome is a cenotaph, and which occupies the same position as the Sakrah. In fact, a section of the Dome of the Rock and the Taj Mahal present a remarkable resemblance, so far as the parts just described are concerned; and these are the essential features of such structures. Now, the curious thing is that the Holy Sepulchre contains all these characteristics, that of course is natural from its being a tomb; but the striking fact is that of its being in this respect a repetition of the Dome of the Rock. It belongs to quite a different period of architecture, and is a ruder kind of work. The sepulchral chamber is of the kind now known

under the old name of *Kokim*. They were small tunnels, arched in form, cut into the rock, and the body was pushed into them. In the Holy Sepulchre the upper portion of the rock has been cut away to make the interior of the tomb larger, so that it could be entered, and the whole has been covered with marble, and now none of the rock is visible, but originally it was an artificially formed cave as a sepulchral chamber,* covered with rock. Had the rock not been cut away, and the marble edifice not



HOLY SEPULCHRE.

been constructed, the Holy Sepulchre would have been another Dome of the Rock.

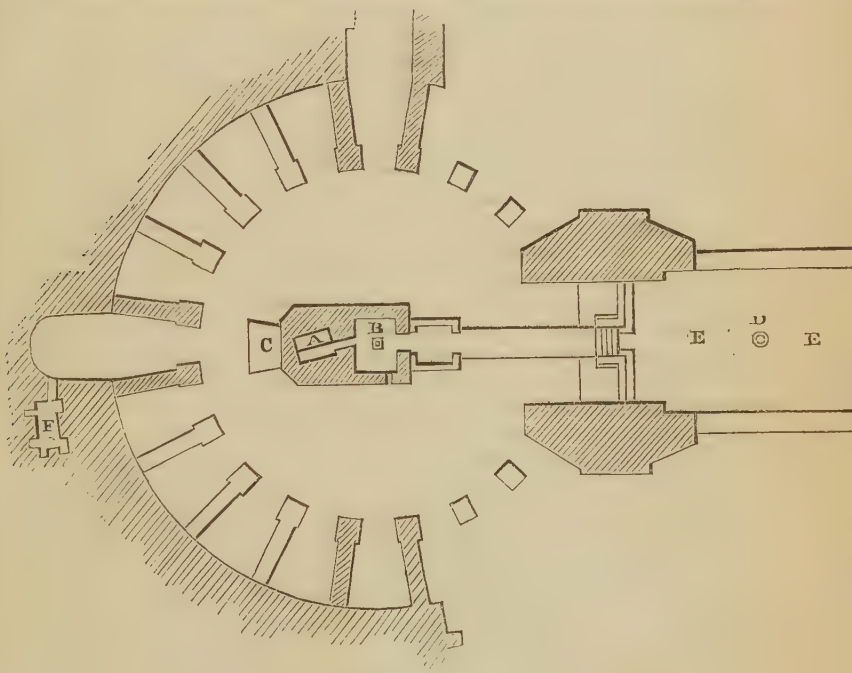
Although this seems very like a Transference of Site, yet there is no reason, at least from what has been here stated, to suppose that an imitation was intended. There is a similarity in these oriental tombs, and this one only repeats the usual features. Caves and rock-cut tombs being a peculiarity of the locality will explain why the remarkable coin-

* "In the middle space of the inner circle is a round grotto cut in the solid rock."—*Areulf.*

cidence, just described, would have existed. The Holy Sepulchre becoming the Head, or Centre Church—the Mother Church of all Churches —becomes the successor of the Temple. We are apt to look upon the Temple as the early Christians did, as a place to be hated, and are thus led to forget that the one is only a continuation of the other. The Church is the legitimate heir of all that belongs to the Temple. The Temple was the centre for the Jews, and now the centre of the earth is at the Holy Sepulchre. It is the same with the story of Abraham's sacrifice, and with all the typical events—they are all fulfilled in the One Death. The Holy Sepulchre thus becomes by the single event the representation of a great many, and hence the reason why so many sites are transferred to it. Sœwulf, who on visiting Jerusalem in 1102, writes of the Holy Sepulchre,—"For all things which were foretold and forewritten by the holy prophets of our Saviour, Jesus Christ were there actually fulfilled." The realisation of the idea which has been here dealt with is not without some practical value, and I can give a good instance to illustrate. Many of those who go to Jerusalem, and are not satisfied with the present Holy Sepulchre, begin to study the ground in order to discover the true site, and one idea seems to guide them all—that it must be a mound in the shape of a skull, which is the mode in which they interpret the word Golgotha. By referring to the old pictures of the crucifixion, we see always at the foot of the cross the representation of a skull. This is understood to be Adam's skull. In some pictures the whole figure of Adam is given; there is, to give an example, a group of this kind over the central west door of Strasburg Cathedral: He is rising to life again from the blood which is shed. By a reference to 1 Cor. xv. 22, we find that in Adam all die, and in Christ all shall be made alive. Here we have the simple connection between the Crucifixion and Adam's grave. It is a piece of very beautiful symbolism. Its consideration will save explorers from wasting time which may be better spent than trying to find a rock shaped like a skull. According to the rule of the Roman Catholic Church, this site is transferred to every altar where the mass is celebrated. According to the decrees of the Church, the sacrifice of the mass cannot be performed without a relic, that is, a portion of a dead body, being placed on the altar. This is one of the essential rules, from which there is no deviation, and by it the altar becomes a Golgotha, the place of the dead Adam, over which the ceremony is performed.

The twelve columns in the Sakrah are said to be one for each of the twelve sons of Jacob. And I find in Mr. Bonomi's diary the tradition, no doubt a Mahomedan one, that the twelve heads of the Beni Israel are buried under the Sakrah. This helps the tomb theory of the Dome of the Rock. Perhaps the breastplate of the high priest (Ex. xxviii. 9) is the starting point of this typical number of stones, and it is repeated in the crossing of the Jordan, where Joshua commands that twelve stones be brought up out of the river, "according unto the number of the tribes of the Children of Israel" (Jos. iv. 5). These stones

were erected at Gilgal. The Samaritans say that Joshua brought these twelve stones to Gerizim. All they can show now of their Temple is a part of the foundation formed of these traditional "Twelve Stones." In 1 Kings xviii. 31, Elijah, is described as taking twelve stones "according to the number of the tribes of the Sons of Jacob," and built an altar with them. The Christian also found an attraction in these twelve stones, for Arculph, as early as A.D. 700, mentions the church "on the site of Galgalis," and that within it were the twelve



PLAN OF SEPULCHRE.

A Slab on which body lay. B Fragment of stone which formed door of tomb.
C Coptic Chapel. D Centre of the Earth. E E Greek Church.
F Tomb of Joseph of Armathen.

stones which Joshua ordered to be carried out of the Jordan. Willibald, who was only a few years later, mentions Galgala, which had a "wooden church," in which were these twelve stones. Sir John Mandeville describes Rachel's tomb as having in his day twelve great stones, which Jacob had placed over her in token that she had borne twelve children. Sir John forgets here that this one of Jacob's wives was not the mother of all the twelve sons. Benjamin of Tudela again says that the tomb was constructed of "eleven stones, equal to the number of the Children

of Jacob." At the present day there is a Mahomedan mosque at Nablus dedicated to "the ten sons of Jacob." Here the one idea is preserved in Jewish, Christian, and Mahomedan symbolism. There is an identity of words in the Hebrew connected with son, and stone, or rock; and there results from it the use of the term to "build up a house," meaning thereby the children, which are the stones, by which the family is built up. Euripides makes Iphigenia say, "For sons are the pillars of the house" (*Iphigenia in Tauris*, v. 57). Showing that the notion is not peculiar to the races of the Holy Land.

We have it stated by Arculph that the Holy Sepulchre "is encompassed by three walls, and supported by *Twelve Columns*" (Bede v. 117). According to Mr. Fergusson's theory this would be the Dome of the Rock, because he believes that the transference took place in the eleventh century, and Arculph's date is about A.D. 700. But if the transference did take place most probably the twelve pillars, which we have seen has been such a favourite number with Jews, Mohammedans, and Christians, would have been transferred also in constructing the new shrine. At least it might be put that if the twelve columns were found in the new shrine it would not surprise any one. The Dome of the Rock rests not only upon twelve columns, but there are also four strong piers, one between every three columns. In the present Holy Sepulchre the complete design of the columns is broken into by the Greek Church on the east side, but on the western half the arrangement is still entire, and if we take the two square columns at the cardinal points to represent piers, it will be found that it leaves four divisions of three columns, which if continued all round would give the oft-repeated twelve. This will be understood better by the shading on the plan, which is done to convey the idea. This, I know, is far too speculative to be assumed as a certainty, and I only give it as an idea which grew out of this question of Transference of Sites.

One curious point is worth calling attention to here, and that is that the tomb turns to the left hand on entering, which is the angle at which the altar or chancel of so many old churches diverge from the line of the nave. If that angle, which has had so many theories by way of explanation, could be traced back to the Holy Sepulchre it would in itself be a very interesting transfer.

I have tried to show that in the multitude of traditions and the confusion of sites, although seemingly a maze, that it is not altogether at times without some indication of a plan, and that by study and classification something may be made out of them which is of practical value, and that the whole subject may be worthy of more careful and serious attention than it has yet received as a branch of Biblical archæology.

WILLIAM SIMPSON.

THE FELLAHHEEN OF PALESTINE.

Notes on their Clans, Warfare, Religion, and Laws.

By Mrs. Finn.

It is impossible to live for any length of time in the Holy Land without being struck by the diverse character of its present inhabitants—that is to say, of the settled population, as distinguished from the pilgrims who annually resort to the Moslem and Christian sanctuaries.

Not only in Jerusalem, but in the rural districts all over the land, the careful observer perceives that in this small country are collected together people of differing creeds, and of various perfectly distinct races. Not now to dwell upon the peculiarities that mark the difference between Samaritans, Maronites, Druses, we pass on to those commonly classed together as "*Arabs*," because the various dialects which they speak have been supposed to be "Arabic," because they profess the faith of Islam propagated by Arabs from Arabia, and because of Oriental customs which they all have in common.

The inhabitants of Palestine are divided into three very distinct classes.

First, the *Bedaween*, "Arabs of the Arabs," who live in tents and roam the deserts.

Second, the *Fellahheen*, "Ploughmen," or agricultural peasantry, who live in villages, and are freehold owners of the soil which they cultivate.

Third, the *Belladeen*, "Townsfolk," who live, and who have lived from generation to generation, in cities, generally in their own freehold houses.

The first of these classes is fully entitled to be considered of Arab race. Many among the third class are also Arabs, being lineal descendants of the Arabs who came from Arabia as conquerors in and after the seventh century, and who settled in the towns, where we now find their children.

But we had not been long resident in Palestine before we found various reasons for doubting whether those specified in the second class, the *Fellahheen*, or peasantry, were Arabs at all. Both eye and ear began to note dissimilarities between them and the Arabs of the other two classes, those from the desert and those of the towns; and these differences were found in costume, features, stature, habits of life, and in speech. Nay, more, as we became better acquainted with the country, we found that, although known by the common name of Fellahheen everywhere, there were, in reality, many perfectly distinct clans, or rather tribes, inhabiting the land; and that these several clans could also be distinguished to some extent from each other. Their peculiarities were found, on a nearer acquaintance, to be very interesting, and well worthy of investigation.

Palestine is divided into districts, all existing independently of each other under the Turkish authority. The districts are after the Lebanon territory in the extreme north, and the Bekaa' or plain between the western range and the Anti-Lebanon.

(1) The country of the Metawila. (2) The district north of Esdraelon. (3) The Jeneen District, including Northern Samaria. (4) "The

Mountain of Nablûs." (5) "The Mountain of Jerusalem," including "The Mountain of Hebron." (6) The Gaza or Philistine District. (7) The Plain of Sharon as far as the Bay of Acre.

The Jordan Valley is chiefly peopled by wild Bedaween, and is, therefore, not included in the above districts.

In the "Jerusalem Mountain" district the Fellahh clans are the following:—Beni Hassan, Beni Zaid, Beni Kurrah, Beni Sālim, Beni Mālik, Beni Harith.

Besides the Wadiyeh, or valley people, who are grouped around the Kedron Valley and its adjacent hills, the Beni Hassan on the south-west and the Beni Mælik on the north-west were the clans with whom we came into most frequent contact in Jerusalem. We also saw a good deal of the Wâdiyeh, of Siloam, Olivet, Bethlehem, &c. In travelling we became acquainted, more or less, with the other more distant clans, and we had abundant opportunities for observing that the Fellahheen do not, properly speaking, form a nation. There is among them neither coherency nor spirit of patriotism. Just as the wild Bedaween are divided into distinct and generally hostile tribes, so the Fellahheen are divided into clans governed by their respective sheikhs. They speak a common language; they possess a common religion; their manners and customs are generally the same all over the country. Yet of national unity there is absolutely none. They never combine for any purpose, excepting when occasionally some clans aid each other in their faction fights. They are all classed, it is true, under the two great divisions of Yemeny or Kais, wearing white or red as the badge of these parties; but even then there is nothing among them approaching to the co-operation of patriots as a nation, ready and willing to join hand in hand for the mother country. The Turkish Government well understand this important fact, and take it into practical account in their method of ruling the land. This state of things is enough to explain, in great measure, the backward condition of the people at large. They have no national life. Every district lives in and for itself, and wages its own petty wars with its neighbours, but has neither interests nor action in common with any other. The people of the various districts differ considerably from each other in outward appearance, in character, and in speech. They resemble each other just so far as to indicate descent from a common stock. They differ as the fragments of a nation may which has been broken up at an extremely remote period into distinct and hostile clans. All are Fellahheen, and yet all are apart from each other, independent, and commonly at enmity.

Though they have with each other no national cohesion, the Fellahh Arab clans cleave to the land with the tenacity of aboriginal inhabitants. No clan has for a long time overpassed the boundaries of its own district, and they show no disposition to do so. The gradual decrease of population, moreover, renders it unnecessary for them to extend the limits of their territory. They cling to the hills and the plains where their fathers lived and died. Nothing but the strong arm of government can

ever induce a Fellahh to quit his native village, and this only for compulsory service in the army. From the moment that he finds himself drawn by lot under the rules of the conscription his one idea is how soon he may contrive to get back again.

They reverence the Sultan as the Khalif of Mohamed, as their civil and spiritual sovereign, but they care nothing for the empire of Turkey. Many of them do not even so much as know the names of the villages a district or so from their own homes. They are influenced by no patriotism for Turkey. The very name is unknown to them. The empire as a whole has no name. The Government, whose seat is at Stambool, and whose head is the Sultan, is called *Dowlet el Osmanli* (the Ottoman Government), whose rule is respected. But the phrase Belād et Trāk, "Country of the Turks," is a popular term of contempt to mean "the world's end," the remote cradle of the Turkish hordes that overran the East in the middle ages. Nevertheless, as above mentioned, the Fellahheen are loyal to the Sultan.

When Ibrahim, Pasha of Egypt, took possession of Syria for his father, Mehemet Ali, he had a good deal of trouble with the Fellahheen in some districts, especially with those of Bethlehem, whom he found a very different kind of folk to the meek and dispirited Fellahheen of Egypt. The sturdy mountaineers of Palestine had never been subjected to the iron hand of despotism by their Turkish rulers in the fashion that the Egyptians were governed, and many of them resisted Ibrahim Pasha, not only when first he occupied Syria, but at all convenient opportunities afterwards.

In the outbreak of 1834 the Fellahheen actually got possession of Jerusalem for a while. They entered by the sewer, from the south-east, and thus got (after some little difficulty in enlarging a passage for exit) into the Armenian quarter. They broke their way out into a house where there was a mill at work grinding corn. Subbuhh Shokeh, one of the Bethlehem Fowagri chiefs, was one of the foremost to emerge. He seized the astonished miller by the throat and silenced him, while the rest of the band made good their entrance. There was great confusion in Jerusalem for some time, but the regular troops of Mehemet Ali were in possession of the citadel, and their cannon and musketry were too strong for the Fellahheen.

One of our own men who had been there in service in the Egyptian army used to tell with glee how effectually Ibrahim Pasha disposed of the Fellahheen when he was encountered on the heights of Scopus with his troops and one or two field pieces. Seeing a crowd of the hostile Fellahheen, he would call his gunner, and bidding him drop a shot or two among them, disperse them like sheep. But it was not always so. Though in mortal fear of cannon shot, they would fight well when it came to a hand to hand encounter, as the Egyptians found on more than one occasion when the Fellahheen were only overpowered after a fierce struggle. The men of Lifta and those of Bethlehem fought well before they were subdued.

The introduction of the conscription was the measure which above all things embittered the Fellahheen of Palestine against the Egyptians, and caused them to favour the restoration of Syria to the direct rule of the Sultan, whose milder rule they greatly preferred to the tyranny of the Egyptians.

Fond of fighting as the Fellahheen are when they can fight in their own fashion and upon their own native mountains, they abhor being taken away from home to be put into the regular army, subjected to drill, and compelled to wear a uniform. Until lately the Sultan drew very few conscripts from Palestine. Indeed, in former years the attempt to levy any considerable number of recruits would have caused a popular insurrection. We witnessed one of the earliest attempts at a levy after the Turks regained the direct rule in Palestine. A couple of regiments were sent down from the north to obtain conscripts in place of those, whose time of service having expired, had been recently discharged. Great was the consternation among the natives, and yet the levy was in itself light enough. Very few were taken, and the term of service was only for five years. But the Moslem Fellahheen did not come in to market, and it was amusing to see, on the day that the regiments sent to make the levy arrived, while the troops were marching in at the Damascus Gate, north of Jerusalem, the Fellahheen were running out in streams at the opposite Gate of Zion the moment that they heard the soldiers' drums. Our two acquaintances, Khaleel of Lifta and his brother, owners of our camping ground, came and sat down on our doorstep to take sanctuary, and implore protection from the soldiers. When told that it was wrong to refuse to serve their Sultan the reply was, "On our head and our eyes be his service. He is our lord; but let us not go away as soldiers."

One of the sheikhs of Mâlhha brought his younger brother to the English hospital and begged the doctor to cut off a joint of his thumb in order to unfit him for service. On the doctor's refusal the lad went out of the city and actually laid his right hand on a stone and chopped off his thumb with his his own khanjar (short sword worn by all the Fellaheen).

So great was the terror of the conscription, that we were told some 1,500 of the Fellahheen had sought shelter (only for a time, of course) with the Bedaween on the other side of Jordan, having been met at Jericho by an Arab force which had encamped there to assist their flight.

Our Christian Fellahhah from Bethlehem fully shared in the joy of the Jerusalem Christians that their sons were ineligible. It was amusing to hear her by turns chuckling over and sympathising with the griefs of the Moslem mothers. Indeed, generally speaking, she agreed with her townsfolk, the Christian Bethlehemites, that the Moslems were altogether an inferior people, and worse off than they, who had ever in time of need their sure refuge in the powerful protection of their convents, "which may God continue to build up!"

After the Crimean War, and when the prestige and moral strength of

Turkish government in Palestine had been considerably strengthened, conscription was enforced more thoroughly. The men were chosen by lot; and great was the grief of those who were so unfortunate as to draw the fatal paper consigning them to service and temporary exile.

But even then permission could be obtained to purchase substitutes, and the long hidden hoards of money, accumulated during a lifetime of saving, buried away in the ground, were resorted to. It was astonishing to find what large sums a mean-looking fellahh would command when engaged in the serious business of purchasing his exemption from foreign service, whether in engaging a substitute, or, in some cases, by simply bribing the officer in command to let him off. If all these means failed to effect a release, there was still a chance left of escaping during the march to the sea coast, where the conscripts were to be embarked. The conscription has fallen with far greater severity upon the Fellahheen of Palestine during the late war with Russia. Whole villages have been drained of their able-bodied men; the scenes during the period of recruiting were painful in the extreme—the despair of the men themselves, the agony of their wives and children, their aged fathers and mothers, when they were marched off manacled like criminals, to prevent escape. These poor people, after a brief period of military instruction, were sent into active service against the Russians. Hundreds of them perished in battle, hundreds more from the hardships of the campaign among the ice-bound fields and snowy defiles of Europe; in some cases they ended their days as wounded Turkish soldiers in the hospitals prepared by English kindness, blessing with tears in their eyes the noble lady who ministered to their dying hours, and could, alone of all around her, understand, because she had herself been in the Holy Land, what they meant, when in their own tongue, all unknown to their Turkish officers and comrades, they babbled of el Kuds esh Shereef—Jerusalem the Holy City—which they were never to see more, or the sunny vineyards and the mountains, now desolate for want of hands to till them.

And these men bore their sufferings patiently and bravely.

Under discipline, and especially under kind and firm treatment, the fellahh is capable of much good service, whether as a soldier or as a cultivator and builder. We found that they made excellent agricultural labourers and builders, and Captain Warren has spoken very highly of the Fellahheen who worked under his staff of English engineers in sinking shafts, driving galleries, and all the other arduous work connected with his excavations in Jerusalem.

These people are not the mere cowards which their unwillingness to serve in the regular army might lead one to suppose. The Fellahheen, though sometimes quite ready to run away and postpone the carrying on of a fight to some more propitious occasion, do, nevertheless, display considerable dash and bravery in warfare; and when beaten and taken prisoners they face death with fortitude.

It sometimes happens that the victorious side has many lives to claim from the vanquished enemy. The prisoners are well aware of the fate

before them, and they submit with almost apathetic resignation—in accordance with the cardinal doctrine of Islam—to the destiny ordained for them, as they firmly believe, by Divine decree.

They allow themselves—big brawny men—to be laid down in a row, with the foot of the enemy literally "on their neck," to be slaughtered with the sword, like so many sheep, while, their faces turned towards Mecca, they pronounce the Moslem formula of faith, thus attesting with their last breath their belief in the Unity of God and the mission of the Prophet Mohamed.

The religion of the Fellahheen is nominally that of Islam, but they are generally speaking extremely ignorant of the Korân, being unable to read for themselves and dependent upon what they can pick up from their sheikhs, who are somewhat better instructed. There remain among them, however, superstitions and religious rites—relics of some ancient systems of religion—which are of the highest interest, and to which we shall refer again. There is generally a little mosque and a guest-chamber in every village, besides the "Place" (*Makâm*) of some ancient saint or hero. Lieut. Conder has drawn attention to the importance of these latter sanctuaries, for such they are.

The clans are governed by their own hereditary sheikhs. The succession does not always descend to the eldest son; a father will not unfrequently nominate one of his younger children to the chieftainship, if he seems to be fitter for the office; but, of course, the choice must be ratified by the Turkish Government, who occasionally regard or encourage the claims of rival claimants. Hence arises many a feud, and enmities exemplified by the fellahh saying, "Though your sister's son were but mortar (utterly weak and insignificant) choke him, for he is your bitterest enemy."

The sheikh rules his people by a code of unwritten traditional laws, some of them derived from those of the Korân, called the "Laws of Mohamed" (*Sheriyat-Mohamed*). But there are many local and special rules. Among these the most interesting is the fellahh code of traditional laws in South Palestine, which is called the *Sheriyat Khaleel*—"Law of Abraham"—(literally "the friend," this being the epithet by which Abraham is known in the country—*Khaleel Allah*, "the friend" of God). This code is thus called in distinction from the *Sheriyah Mohamediyeh* ("Law of Mahomed"), always administered in the courts of law in the great cities. The peasantry always prefer the law of Abraham to that of the Korân, and it is administered by the sheikh and the elders (*Ikhtiâriyeh*). They look upon it as peculiarly sacred, and even in towns it is so much respected that neither the *kadi* ("judge" of Mahomedan law) nor the courts of the Sultan's Tanzimât will ever directly reverse a sentence of the law of Abraham pronounced by the elders of the peasantry. Indeed, we have heard of cases in which the civil authorities interfered to enforce the "Abrahamic" code as against that of Mahomed. For instance, in 1858 a certain number of families from Hhalhhul Noba, Beit Umma, &c., preferring to follow the *Law of Mohamed* (which they

thought would be more favourable to them in a certain question of landed property), were expelled by their neighbours, and went to rebuild an ancient village at a distance. The effendies of Jerusalem, for some factious reason, induced the pasha to compel them to return. He accordingly went and destroyed their village, which they had newly rebuilt. (This kind of expulsion is called Sahh't Mashhootin.)

The courts of justice held by the sheikhs with the village elders are accompanied by well-known formalities, and are conducted with care. The sessions are in public, and open to all comers. The sheikh who obtains a character for legal acumen and impartiality is resorted to by litigants from the whole country side. On the other hand, should he utter a decision or express an opinion contrary to the traditionary code, he is liable to be corrected, and to have his sentence questioned by the merest child present.

For a lawsuit of Fellahheen the necessary preliminaries are—

1. The *Erzak*, or trifling deposit, representing a larger sum or "property," which is to be the real forfeiture if so decided.

2. The kuf'lah, or securities (two persons or more), that the case shall be begun and continued and the sentence be obeyed.

3. The *sâma'* ("listener") or assessor.

4. The kadi or judge (*i.e.*, the sheikh chosen to decide the cause).

Besides these there are the plaintiff and the defendant. The parties all appear before the judge. The plaintiff says, "I have come to thee, our judge —this and thus—and appealing to the seventy-two prophets from all crooked ways and path of crooked ways. May retribution not have to overtake thee in thy pastoral property, or in thy most desirable of sons."*

Then the plaintiff tells his tale. The defendant tells his afterwards.

The judge, after hearing all, and receiving the evidence of witnesses, if any are brought forward, sums up the matter to his assessor, the *sâma'*, in such a manner as, without pronouncing sentence, shows which way his mind lies.

The assessor turns to the two belligerent parties, and says, "Speak ye to each other in the way of reconciliation." If they do not make it up the judge gives sentence, and the fine is levied. This is divided between the judge and the assessor.

Appeal can be made to a new court by either party saying, "The truth of God is with another than thee." But this is rarely done, inasmuch as it reflects great disgrace on the first judge to have his sentence reversed, or even brought into suspicion.

It is always a subject for pride to a sheikh that his decisions are sought after and respected, and we have known cases in which profligate and unjust men have maintained their public character as shrewd and impartial judges. Many stories are told of the sagacity of the sheikhs in their mode of administering justice.

In the days of old Abdu'l Hâdy, grandfather of the present family,

* This is the form used by way of adjuration to the judge to act justly and impartially in hearing the cause and in giving sentence.

while he was governor in Nablûs, a shop in the town was robbed, and no one could discover by whom it had been done. So the old fellow—peace be upon him, for he was truly a wise man—commanded the door of the shop to be taken off its hinges, and to be well bastinadoed. This was done in his own presence. A crowd gathered round, and he continually ordered the punishment to be continued, until nearly all the town had assembled, marvelling at the strange proceeding.

At length Abdu'l Hâdy, the governor, leaned down, and asked the door who had done it? who was the thief? Then he put his ear to listen for the answer. Turning and addressing the multitude, the governor then said, "The door declares that it was done by a man who has a cobweb on the top of his tarboosh." The people looked at each other, but one man unconsciously put up his hand to feel the top of his tarboosh. The governor instantly laid hold of him, and the man in astonishment confessed that he had indeed done it. He was the thief.

Sometimes noble traits of humanity and generosity were shown in the fellahh character.

A remarkable instance occurred during the scarcity and famine in 1854, when the war had raised the prices of provisions, and when the effendis of the city, by buying up the wheat stores, had caused extreme distress, especially to the poor Jews.

A fellahh then resolved to do what in him lay to mitigate the sufferings of the poor, and, though he himself was not rich or powerful, to reduce the price of corn. He brought his little store of wheat, a single camel load, into the market of Jerusalem, and spreading his own aba (cloak) on the ground, emptied the grain out of the sacks, crying aloud to the poor to come and buy, for that he had "lifted up his hand to the Most High God" to sell this his corn at a cheap rate in small quantities to the poor, in order to bring down the price and succour the starving.

Blessings were poured upon that poor man's head, and he went home happy to his village.

We had many opportunities of observing the conduct of the Fellahheen when engaged in warfare. The clans inhabiting the country districts where our summer encampments were established, were constantly at feud, and when the Turkish pasha at Jerusalem happened to be old and weak, or when he had not sufficient soldiers or sufficient influence to enable him to maintain order among the rival sheikhs, they usually broke out into fighting. The immediate cause was often trivial enough, but there was sure to be some well nourished quarrel of old standing ready to be fought out, and only awaiting opportunity.

On one occasion we had noticed an unusual chattering among the women near our tents, and in the evening, just before dark, a number of goats, cows, donkeys, and camels, were driven up by some women and girls.

"Who are these, Haj Ali?" "Truly, my lord, I know not—Fellahheen," was our groom's reply on being questioned; but he soon brought us word that "there is a great fight; all the Aboo Ghosh people are at it

so the women have brought their cattle here for refuge till it is over. No one will take them from the Ingleez." As he spoke another party came up, and the women in command on either side began to abuse and curse each other as soon as they came in sight.

"Are these friends of the first people?" "Lā—ā," laughed our groom; "they are of the opposite side, but they come also to take shelter with the English."

We saw and heard no more of that fight except that the Aboo Ghosh side were defeated with the loss of forty men. When all was over both parties fetched away their cattle, and said "thank you" for the protection enjoyed.

Another time a fellahh came to our tents to carry off the young fellow—one of the owners of the land upon which our tents were pitched—who was our servant, to the war, as one of the contingent of 100 men required from his village. He said that 2,000 men were to march that day against the Ibr Simhhân territory.

That day there were none left to work upon the threshing-floor close by save an old man with white beard and the little boys his grandsons; all the middle aged and the young men had disappeared and gone to the war.

A fellahh family had taken up their summer quarters in a sepulchral cave close by their threshing-floor, and a very few days afterwards we saw one of their women standing mounted on the top of a bank screaming for nearly an hour: "Come, O ye brave, and take revenge!"

The Shafat people had been fighting those of Lifta, and had captured two goats. They had also attempted to take this woman's donkey from her. Blows had been exchanged, and at least one head broken. They fought their fight out, but did not molest us.

On another occasion we watched the actual progress of the fight going on between the villages north-west and those south-west of Jerusalem. Several hundred men were engaged on both sides. There was but little bloodshed, however, and, as in many other instances, the mediation of the British Consul was effectual in obtaining a temporary truce, and after some little time, a settlement of the disputes existing between the belligerents.

During this fight one of the enemy challenged the sheikh—Ali Shaikha—to single combat. The mode of challenge was characteristic: "Come on, thou rider of a *kadesh*" (hack horse); thus offering affront both to the rider and to his valued mare. Ali knew well what his beast could do, and put her at the loose stone wall several feet high, riding at his adversary with the retort, "At least, I am not the son of a gipsy." The mare scrambled up, carried her rider safely on, and his adversary fell pierced by the bullets of himself and his followers. The fighting was carried on in the early morning and forenoon, after which the men went to their agricultural labours.

The watch fires were burning at night in every village, and one could hear the shrill voices of the women as well as of the men joining in the

war, or war cry. In the morning by daybreak the forces mustered. When a well-known champion joined them, the women would break out as he rode forward into improvised verse:—

"Oh, thou Khaleel, thou art welcome;
All these swords art thine, oh, Khaleel.
We will defend thee and fight with thee.
Welcome, welcome, oh, Khaleel," &c., &c.

The men, and more especially the women, encourage the combatants during the actual fight, by improvised verses paising their favourite warriors and recounting their deeds of prowess. But in case of hisitation or of cowardice they fling at them every epithet of contempt or scorn that they can imagine or invent on the spur of the moment, and many a one has dashed afresh into the thickest of the fight, stung by the bitter jests and gibes of the girls and women from his village who were on the field carrying fresh supplies of gunpowder, succouring the wounded, and cheering on the men of their side with the invigorating scream of the "El-el-el-el-loo."

We always found that the women took the keenest interest in the warfare, that they acted as scouts and conveyed intelligence with great rapidity and accuracy over the hills, and that they were quick in detecting plots or secret movements of the enemy. Here is one of their impromptu battle songs:—

"What does the coward's wife say to her husband?
'Oh, husband, remain in the hindermost ranks,
For if thou shouldest press forward thou mayest be hit,
And thus shall my children be made orphans.'
These be the words of the coward's wife to her husband."

The custom, common among the Bedaween, was also known among the Fellahheen, by which women have the right and privilege of giving protection and of saving the life of any who might appeal to them, or whom they choose to claim as their *protegé*. Formerly, he who attempted to slay another in the presence of a woman would have been branded as a coward. The men also hurl opprobrious epithets at any warrior who evinces symptoms of fear or of hesitation. During a fight at Brit Nattey, one of the combatants seemed to his comrades in the fray to be hanging back. Immediately one of them shouted at him, "Siknag!" which is the native form of the word "Ashkenaz," the appellation of the Russian or German Jews, as distinguished from the Sephardim, or Spanish Jews.

The Ashkenazim are generally small of stature, and are, for the most part, extremely timorous. They have only been recognised of late years as belonging to the same people as their proud, though also timid brethren, the Sephardim (who are the Jews recognised of old by the Turkish Government and by the natives). Hence the term "Siknag" was meant to imply utter derision and contempt.

Before and during the fighting individual champions often challenge each other to single combat. Great interest naturally attaches to these

encounters, which are watched with keen attention by both sides. Sometimes the dispute is decided by the event, but more commonly the struggle between one or more pairs of champions on either side ends in a general *melée* of the excited hosts, who cannot restrain their ardour beyond a certain point when watching the efforts of their chosen heroes.

Sheikh Nimmer el Amleh was noted for his high courage. Many anecdotes were told of his *nonchalance*. One day, in the height of battle, he happened to look up at the sun, and saying "It is noon," he dismounted, spread his aba (cloak) on the ground, and began to say his prayers, though guns were levelled at him all round, and some not twelve paces off. Of course, no one would be so impious as to shoot him while actually saying his prayers. Another celebrated sheikh, Abd el Naby, coming up, found him thus engaged.—"Oh, Nimmer, what art thou doing? This is a time for fighting." Nimmer rejoined, "Why should fighting hinder praying? Let me finish, and then will I teach them." And so he did "teach" the enemy, as soon as he had finished prayer, leaping on his mare, rushing into the enemy's ranks, and slaying on all sides.

Of course, the victorious army are greeted, when they return home to their villages, by processions of the women, who go forth to meet them singing songs of triumph. The woman most skilled in improvisation leads the song with a couplet or so extolling the acts of the hero and of the victors. Her companions then take up the chorus, ending with the *Zughareet* (the shrill El-el-el-loo), waving their long sleeves over their heads, and clapping their hands with frantic joy. Another couplet is then given, followed by the chorus as before. The men, meanwhile, "burn as much powder" as they can, firing off their long guns at random in every direction, and as the guns are loaded to make the more noise, accidents sometimes occur. Each man carries, besides his gun, the short sword, or *khanjar*, of native manufacture, stuck in his leathern girdle. They are generally provided with powder of their own making. The wood of the vine, though useless generally, is considered to furnish the best charcoal for gunpowder. Brimstone and nitre are products of the country.

The combatants are for the most part infantry, only the sheikhs on either side being mounted, with perhaps their sons and cousins as retinue. The Fellahheen do not possess many horses or mares. The sheikhs, however, are usually well mounted, and their mares are not unfrequently thorough-bred Arabs, related to the desert race.

Prisoners are of course frequently taken in battle, and sometimes they are slain at the end of the fight. Any one considering himself "*a man*" would disdain to ask mercy. But if there be not much angry passion aroused, or if there be a mediator sufficiently honourable to command respect, lives are spared, and a council is held at which the claims for blood fines, &c., are heard and adjusted. Then the prisoners are only kept as hostages till the amount has been paid.

A computation is generally made of the losses on either side by death,

wounds, &c., &c., and the balance is paid to the victors. A truce is then made, or terms of peace adjusted. Of course, if the victory has not been decisive the fighting is continued—sometimes for weeks, sometimes for months, and even from one season to another—with intervals of formal truce, made and respected by both parties, in order to allow of crops being sown or reaped.

Fewer lives are lost in these fights than might be expected. There is but little deliberate aim taken. Most of the Fellahheen think it wrong to aim at the sheikh, and the casualties occur chiefly during a general melée or charge, or the storming of a rising ground, sometimes, though more rarely, in assault on a village.

The dead are buried by their own relations as soon as possible after the engagement. But it sometimes happens, especially in the Nablûs district, and we have also known it in the B'lad Arkob among the Beni Hassan, that the dead are injured after battle by their enemies. This only happens when bad passions have been called out by long-continued war or in retaliation for special acts of ferocity. A peculiarly savage and vindictive enemy will not only cut his fallen foe to pieces, but will prevent his burial, causing the body to be exposed to the sun by day and to the dews and cold of night. Sometimes the removal of the dead is not permitted, but a grave is dug on the spot where the man fell, and a cairn of stones is raised to mark the spot. This is sometimes done in cases of assassination, whether the deed was done to avenge a blood feud or gratify private enmity. But commonly the slain are taken to their own village by the relations, and there honourably buried amid the lamentations of the women.

The amount of the blood fine, according to fellahh usage, is 4,000 piastres for a man, and 2,000 for a woman (about £35). According to the law of the Kadi in the city, the amount is much greater—even 30,000 piastres—but in this, as in many other things, such as calculation of taxes and government dues, the fellahh proverb holds good—

"Fee fark bain
Hhusâb es-serai
Wa-Hhusâb el kurai"

("There is a difference between palace-reckoning and village-reckoning").

According to the Fellahheen, "Seraglio (Palace) Law" is "no law." In various cases that we observed, the pasha for the time being happening to be strong and vigorous, imposed the blood fine, according to the Government Seraglio code. But this arrangement only lasted at the most till his time had expired; or till from some other cause the Turkish Government became weak. The Fellahheen, then taking advantage of the want of power manifested by the Turkish authorities, reverted to their own more ancient system. Those upon whom the blood fine had been imposed, and who had very rarely paid more than an instalment of the amount, refused to pay more than their own code required of them; and those on the opposite side, who had been compelled

to compound with their adversaries, and to accept money for life, or, as they would phrase it, for "blood," now seized the opportunity of vindicating their "honour" by exacting "blood" besides, and by slaughtering on that pretext any male relations of the man who had killed their relation, if they were unable to fall in with the criminal himself. They would often justify this procedure by means of a technical point. To make an arrangement by blood-fine valid, there should be "guarantors of the payment" (*Kufalah ed-defa'*), also "guarantors of the prohibition" (to shed blood), and further, "*Ashab el Arood.*" In the absence of these (whom the Turkish officials, as being ignorant of native rules, had of course omitted to appoint), the avengers of blood claim the right to treat the compromise by mere payment of money as null and void, informal and invalid. Where all those persons have been duly appointed, the opposite party cannot exact blood for blood. Each of the guarantors is entitled to a fee: so that the expense of settlement is considerable. Should the person slain happen to have been a woman, the expense involved in the settlement is greater than in the case of a man, especially if she be a married woman; for in that case the slayer must provide another wife for her husband, as well as a wife for her brother or her nearest male relation. If she was unmarried, he has only to provide a wife for the nearest relation, and this, of course, lessens the expense.

But even after all this has been done, blood is sometimes exacted, and this by treachery, and it is supposed that the person thus acting is only vindicating his honour in taking life for life.

Cases have been known in which after the Deeyeh has been formally paid and accepted by a man for the murder of his brother, and after he had been apparently reconciled to the murderer, saying, "What has happened has happened; my brother has gone, let us be friends;" and all seemed to be settled and over, the avenger even going so far as to stay with his quondam enemy; that he would arrange with a friend who is trusty and able to keep his secret, to come at night in the dark and try to break open the door, the first man rushed out as if to drive off the intruder—who was informed where and how to fire—and killed the enemy, while the avenger of blood—the relation and instigator of the treachery—tore his garments, and pretented to deplore the sad event, and escaped suspicion, or at least punishment.

If the Bethlehemites who are Fellahheen kill a Ta'amri, it is not usual to pay *Deeyeh* ("blood fine") according to fellahh code, but *Khuwweh* ("dues of brotherhood"), according to Bedawy or wild Arab code. For the Ta'amri, though cultivators of the soil, have among them many Bedawy usages.

Redress, or at least the payment of a fine, is considered to be due for bloodshed, even when injury short of actual loss of life has been inflicted.*

Until lately, if a man was pursued by the avenger of blood, and was

* The Thâr, or "blood revenge," is obligatory upon relatives of the slain to the fifth degree of consanguinity.

trying to escape, he was safe if he could succeed in catching hold of the dress of any woman, even though she might be his own wife. But times are altered, and that would probably be disregarded now. But a man in such circumstances could save himself even at the last moment by crying out, "I am the *Daheel*" ("one who has entered the abode of") "So-and-so," invoking some powerful person or one of high rank, whose protection is at once secured by the bare fact that he has been thus called upon. It is then accounted as if the fugitive had actually entered (dakhal) or taken sanctuary in the camp or in the abode of that person. (Compare with this usage the verse, "The name of the Lord is a strong tower; the righteous runneth into it and is safe.") Supposing, however, that the pursuers disregarded the appeal, and slay their victim after all, paying no heed to the fact that he has invoked the aid of a protector, the personage called upon has certain rights which he must exercise, and duties which he must perform. Before the victim is slain he will call on some bystander in these words, "Ana dakheel fulān, el amāneh andak," "I am the *Dakheel* ("*protegé*") of So-and-so—this trust is with thee," meaning that he, the dying man, has committed to the other as a trust the duty of going and reporting to the protector invoked that his *protegé* had been killed in despite of the honour of his name. The bystander is bound to accept, even against his will, the trust laid upon him. To be faithless to an *amāneh* ("trust") is a sin unpardonable in this world and in the world to come. "Khâyin el amāneh, Wa nâkir el wadda"—"the breaker of a trust and the denier of a deposit" (*i.e.*, he who denies that he has a deposit left in his safe keeping), is the most infamous character that can be given to the vilest of men.

When the news reaches the ears of him who was invoked, he has the right of assembling all his allies to help him in vindicating his honour. "Who is on my side?—who?" is the cry with which he calls upon them to arise and join their forces with his. According to the unwritten code of honour by which these matters are determined, the affronted chieftain should now ride to the place where his *protegé* was slain, and should exact vengeance during three days and a third by killing every male and taking all their property. The offenders have no right afterwards to claim either revenge for blood or the price of blood, nor the value of their property—all is forfeited and lost. At the end of the three days and a third, the relatives of the man who was slain (the *protegé*) put up a white flag in honour of the protector who has thus avenged their loss and vindicated the honour of his own name. Those who remain alive of the offending party are now safe in returning to gather up whatever may be left of their property, or those of their people who may have escaped with their lives. Justice and honour are considered to have been satisfied.

The privileges of "sanctuary" are universally recognised. A person may either claim "sanctuary" or protection from a person as in the case above described, or from God or some saint by resorting to the mosque or *Makam* ("Place") dedicated to the saint. Stores of grain or fruit, and

even valuables, are sometimes deposited within some sanctuary under the supposed guardianship of the saint, and things thus deposited are safe.

We had once an interesting case of some Fellahheen (members of the family of one of the chiefs in the district) seeking sanctuary in the house of a British subject, Mr. Meshallam, in the valley of Urtas, near Bethlehem. They barely succeeded in crossing the threshold, or rather in falling over and within it, so close were the pursuers with drawn swords behind them—so close that one of Meshallam's servants got a sword-cut by accident from one of the enemy, in their pell-mell eagerness to come up with their intended victims. But the sanctuary was respected; the open door was not violated, or the threshold crossed, and the refugees were sheltered until the affair was so far settled that they could leave without danger to life. They then acknowledged the kindness shown to them, according to the custom of the country. Taking leave with great ceremony, they set out for their own village, parading a white flag on a pole (it is sometimes tied to a spear), amid rejoicings and the firing of guns, and proclaiming as they went, "Here goes the honour, 'the white flag,' for Meshallam. May God increase his good," &c., &c. Thus all the country round was informed that the appeal for refuge and protection had been duly met. They then invited their late host to a feast specially prepared for him.

But had the latter failed in his duties, or in honourable treatment of his guests, or in any way broken faith or trust with them, a black flag would have been hoisted instead of the white one, and would have been carried through the district amid jeers and curses, as representing the *dis*-honour of the offenders. His name would thenceforward be a scorn and a by-word among men. We knew of a similar instance in which the black flag was put up over the Khān at Solomon's Pools. Proclamation was at the same time made aloud, "Here is the honour of Sheikh So-and-so, of So-and-so; and this disgrace will cleave to him unless he make amends, and thus repair the good name he has lost." A black-and-white dog with a black tip to his tail was then taken and publicly named after the offender. The news spread all over the country, and he became a proverb even to his own slaves. "Sheikh So-and-so a man! Let him go and make his honour white; let him go and take his name off that black-and-white dog—then will we hear what he has to say. Till then who will receive his testimony or accept his suretyship?"

To take and give suretyship is very common in all kinds of transactions among both the Fellaheen and the Arabs.

Not only is a *kafeel* (or rather more than one *kafeel*) required in transactions involving the payment of money, but in many other things, the performance of a promise, the carrying out of a contract, the execution of any stipulated agreement; all these are very commonly strengthened by the nomination of sureties, "*kufalah*" on either side, for the parties engaged. No man is considered worthy to be a *kafeel*, unless he has good reputation for honour and honesty, and he must moreover be competent to execute his obligations if necessary, or power-

ful enough to oblige the person for whom he has given his *kufâlah* ("suretyship"), to fulfil his agreement, whatever it may be.

A builder will give the guarantee of sureties for the due completion of his contract. A seller, for the strict observance of the terms of the sale. The parties to a truce after war, or a treaty or agreement of peace, each give the guarantee of responsible *kufâlah* that all will be done as has been stipulated.

It is considered an honour to be nominated *kafeel*, or surety for a personage of importance. Cases sometimes occur where such a person will reply when the opposite side say, "Who will be thy *kafeel?*"—

"I am *my own* kafeel." The words sound haughty, but a man of position would scorn to break the guaranty thus given, and he would be eternally disgraced if he were to do so.

The suretyship is not always given in writing, though that is the usual form, by writing the name and affixing the seal to the document, whatever it may be. But it is quite enough if a person declare himself before witnesses to be *kafeel*. He is as much bound to fulfil the obligations as if he had set his seal to the contract.

And how if a man breaks a trust? was a question which we asked of our native friends one day. The reply was as follows:—

"In case of a man (among either Bedaween or Fellahheen) breaking trust in regard to a sum of money deposited with him (God forgive us for thinking of such a thing!), he would be brought before a judge, who would ask him the reason.

"Hunger would not be accepted as a sufficient reason, but he might be excused if he would prove that it had been taken from him by violence of enemies, or by Turkish soldiers; but this would have to be fully proved.

"In all other cases he would have to repay fourfold, and he and all his posterity would be stigmatised with the name of 'Khayin amanet-ho' ('He who betrayed his trust'). And no character can be given viler than this to even the meanest of men."

SUEZ AND ITS DESERT.

Notes by Mr. WILLIAM ANDREWS, of the Peninsular and Oriental Company.

THE desert near Suez is extremely arid; the rainfall is very small, and the sky rarely clouded. In summer the air becomes intensely heated, and owing to the great dryness of the climate desiccation is rapid, a dead camel drying up before the vultures can dispose of it.

Before the canal was made, the only drinking water was from brackish wells at distant intervals, and there was no agricultural class amongst the inhabitants, vegetables and fruit being brought from Cairo. After the completion of the sweet-water canal, cultivation commenced, and the gardens now cover 40 or 50 acres of land bordering the canal, sometimes beneath its level and sometimes above. The gardens are let out in

patches of from one quarter of an acre to six acres at rents, in the form of taxes to Government, of from £1 to £5 per acre. Latterly, land at a distance from Suez has been taken up upon the verbal promise of some official that it will be free from taxation for seven years, but this promise appears likely to be broken, and the poor but deserving cultivators declare that they will give it up should a threatened taxation be imposed upon them.

Several acres of the cultivated ground are covered with luxuriant crops of white clover, and between January and May no less than eight cuttings are obtained from it. Lettuce, cauliflowers, cabbage, turnips, carrots, beetroot, cucumbers, celery, &c., grow well, and are supplied to the shipping.

The maritime and sweet-water canals have had no appreciable effect on the climate of Suez; the annual rainfall seldom exceeds one and a half inches, and in some gardens does not reach half that amount. The ranges of Jebel Attaka and Jebel Tih are subject to a heavier rainfall; their ravines show evidence of fearful torrents; fig trees grow out of the rocks, and a line of desert vegetation follows the bed of each watercourse. In March, 1874, the summits of those mountains, and of ranges down the Red Sea were covered with snow, a sight unprecedented in the history of Arab tradition, and at mid-day from the plains of Suez, a cataract of many hundred feet in height may be seen pouring from the cliffs on the Attakas. A week later, while on a visit there, an insect would have perished of drought.

In October, 1877, a day without rain, but with thunder-clouds around, the outskirts of Suez, about nine o'clock in the evening, were alarmed by a flood deliberately and effectively making its way over the desert, regardless of gardens and huts, towards the sea. Some 200 of the latter collapsed under the solution of their mud foundations. Not only was a large portion of the railway swept away, but the flood cut into the fresh-water canal, and instead thereby of emptying it, filled it to overflowing, making it a channel for its waters. This torrent was generated at the Gineffe mountains, about twenty-five miles inland, and the dry desert has no absorption, but is a famous river bed; but fresh water for some weeks after was undrinkable in its brackishness.

Referring again to the fertility of the soil, I must observe that preliminary washing is necessary to carry off the surplus salt, or to raise it to the surface and then decompose it. I presume, when it loses its savour, as it does under a burning sun, it *is* good for the dunghill, and for its influence on crops. Nor in levelling the land, as is sometimes necessary, does the subsoil present any inferiority of fertility; the gravelly portions alone seem to have the power of resisting the fructifying influences of the sun and water.

As a specimen of an arid desert, probably the plains of Suez are unequalled. Only slightly above sea-level, with the Gibel Attaka on the west and Gibel Tih in the east, it is subject to the minimum of rainfall and basks in a rarely clouded sky, every pebble and stone on its

surface radiating heat until the air becomes intensely heated, and on a hot summer day it is enlivened each morning by whirlwinds of sand. Although not sandy as a rule, each stone on its gravelly surface has its sloping line of accumulated sand in reserve for the sport of the north or south winds, as they occasionally get up a storm, obscuring the sun and the sky with their clouds of impalpable dust. The dead camel desiccates in a few days under the extraordinary dryness of the air, even before the vulture has time to fulfil its sanitary mission. Water there was none except of the most brackish nature in wells dug at distant intervals.

However, as isthmus-cutting became the order of the French mind—as it was the bugbear of the English—so Suez, as a preliminary process, had the sweet waters of the Nile brought to its door by means of a canal. Being a seaport, and its inhabitants of the coolie class, the agricultural element was wanting to utilise the advantage for some years. Vegetables and fruit reached us by rail from Cairo. As the Maritime Canal, however, was completed and bad times set in for Suez, necessity drove a few of the natives to the banks of the fresh-water canal to eke out a few onions and a little salad for daily bread, and the ships' demands for such articles stirred up enterprise. The gardens now extend to about 40 or 50 acres, bordering the canal—some beneath its level and some above—in patches let out to various holders of from 1 quarter acre to 6 acres, and at rents, in the name of taxes to Government, for from £1 to £5 per acre. Latterly, more distant land along the canal has been taken up upon the verbal promise of some official that it will be free from taxation for seven years, but this promise appears likely to be broken, and its poor but deserving cultivators declare that they will give it up should a threatened taxation be imposed upon them.

I have seen many lands known as sterile, but nothing equal to this desert; and I have seen many crops known as luxuriant, but nothing equal to the Burselem or white clover which now covers acres of this ground. Between January and May about eight cuttings of this crop are obtained, and its solid green mass is a delight to the eye. Lettuce seems the next most suitable vegetable, but there is no lack of excellent specimens of cauliflowers, cabbage, turnips, carrots, beets, cucumbers, celery, &c., &c. English peas are one continual crop during the winter months.

The soil is calcareous, and gypsum is a favourite of all clover plants, and hence its fertility. Some credit, however, must be given to the cesspools of Suez—the accumulations of generations—and these find outlet now to the gardens of the canal to the double advantage of the town.

As regards the climate of Suez, not the fresh-water canal, nor the Maritime Canal, nor the limited vegetation, has exercised any appreciable influence. The rainfall seldom exceeds 1½ inches per annum, and often not half that amount. Doubtless the Gibel Attaka and Gibel Tih have

heavy rainfalls, but not so the plain of Suez. The ravines in these mountains at all times of my visit were as dry as a bone, showing evidence in their piled up boulders of fearful torrents, and fig trees grow out of the clefts of these rocks, and a line of desert vegetation follows the course of their wadies.

THE VISIT OF BONOMI, CATHERWOOD, AND ARUNDALE TO THE HARAM ES SHERIFF AT JERUSALEM IN 1833.

THE *Quarterly Statement* for April last noticed the death of Mr. Joseph Bonomi, and it contained some details of the visit which he made to Jerusalem in 1833 with Catherwood and Arundale. According to the paragraph it is made to appear that although Mr. Bonomi had visited the Haram in the dress of a Mahomedan pilgrim, he was unable to do anything, and that he and Arundale only assisted Mr. Catherwood, who introduced them into the Mosque for that purpose. Mr. Bonomi's diary, written at the time, has been placed in my hands for the purpose of writing a memoir of his life, and judging from the entries in it, the above statements scarcely seem to convey the exact facts of the case. As the work of these three gentlemen at that time may be called the starting-point of our reliable knowledge of the Haram es Sheriff, a few extracts from Mr. Bonomi's diary may be worth giving as bearing on that subject; at the same time they give information which is interesting in itself, and as a record of what may be now called "early explorations" in that spot they possess some value. It may be here premised that Bonomi had been, at the date when he went to Jerusalem, a good many years in Egypt, and had acquired Arabic so that he was able to speak it freely; he had also adopted an Eastern costume and lived in many respects the same as the people around him. This had made him familiar with their habits, as well as with the forms of their faith, and on coming to Jerusalem he took advantage of it as giving him a chance of getting an entrance to the Haram, which was difficult as well as dangerous for non-Mahomedans to attempt. At first he seems to have avoided being seen in the company of Catherwood and Arundale, as well as of others who were known as "Frangis" and Christians; and he appears to have succeeded so well, and passed for such a good Mussulman, that an old man asked him to stay there and marry his daughter. On Tuesday, 15th October, 1833, there is an entry in the diary that Mr. Bonomi was sent for by the Moufti Effendi, who, as well as those around him, were so pleased at inspecting a camera, with which Bonomi always made his sketches, that he was allowed afterwards to go into "the area of the Holy Mosque, walked all round, and made a view of the back of the Porta Aurea and a Minaret." This sketch of the Golden Gate is among Mr. Bonomi's papers. A report got current that he had come to draw

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all the places that wanted repairs. Bonomi encouraged them in this belief, and some of the guardians took him all over the place to show him the spots where repairs were required. An entry made two days after describes all this, and states that one of the guardians "took me into the holy place and under the great stone,"—the cave under the Sakhra,—"and left me to say my prayers. Unfortunately there was a man in this dark room who must have seen my awkwardness, for he had been there longer than me, his eyes had become used to the dark, and by the time my iris was expanded I had made all the mistakes and found this witness of my errors staring at me. What will be the consequence? Shall I be turned out of the town?" Bonomi passed a sleepless night owing to this adventure, but nothing seems to have come of it, for we find him two days later discussing points of Mahomedan theology with the Moufti Effendi. Some of those present on this occasion seemed to be angry with the Moufti for allowing a man born in Frangistan to sit among the select company of his divan; the Moufti felt himself rebuked, and therefore told his friends that although "I had the misfortune to be born in Londra I was a Moslem, to which my talkative friend bore witness. I took my leave and went into the Haram Essiriff, drew a view in which the celebrated cupola is tolerably conspicuous, and which I began to colour. Finished a pencil view from another point. . . . . 20th October. Continued my view of the Temple (Dome of the Rock) this morning. While I was working, several pilgrims dressed in the costume of the Hejaz were conducted by the dervish, crying out as they went hurrying up the steps, 'Ya Beit Allah! Ya Allah!' It seems to me part of the ceremony to hurry up the steps into the place, perhaps because one should seem desirous to enter the house of God as soon as possible." From the diary he seems to have gone to the Haram every day, and made his sketches wherever he wished. He made sketches of the Dome of the Rock, but he never uses that name, he calls it "the Temple" or "the Mosque." Some of his drawings of the Dome of the Rock I have seen; they are still in the possession of his family. Later on there are entries of sketching the exterior as well as the interior of the Aksa. On the 23rd October he states that he "finished the two views of the Temple, and after dinner the little church in the corner of the sepulchre. While I was drawing a young Turk sat by me some time. He told me the drawing was all proper except one part of it, pointing to the figures. I always endeavoured to keep them covered, so I could not work at them, they are merely sketched in; it shows considerable penetration and judgment on the part of a Turk to have discovered them to be figures at all. He was a good-natured fellow; I told him I hoped God would forgive me, for he is the Most Merciful, at which he laughed. But the worst thing that has happened for my character is the discovery of figures in my other drawing, made by the dervish who is the conductor of pilgrims to the Beit Allah, so many crimes added to my being the associate of Christians who begin to venture to draw within the sacred

enclosure, for Catherwood went there yesterday evening. The Governor saw him and spoke to him familiarly in presence of the dervish, who would have turned him out but for the patronage of the great man. He is so bold that I think I must make my escape before any examination should take place, for I should be found wanting." A note is added to this in the diary, that "Catherwood was within the wall but not on the platform of the Temple," meaning not on the platform of the Dome of the Rock.

These quotations are clear evidence that Bonomi got in to the Haram under the character which he had assumed, and that he made sketches where he desired. Later on he mentions copying ornamental inscriptions in the Octagon, and one day "helped to measure the Great Stone." No doubt but this is the Sakhra. This and other entries show that he assisted his friends when he could be of service; but that he was dependent upon them for facilities, is an idea which does not seem to have any probability after these quotations. If Catherwood got in under the pretence of measuring the Dome of the Rock by order of Mehemet Ali, and with a view to its repair, this was simply carrying out the *queue* started by Bonomi.

Judging from the extracts I should conclude that Bonomi was the first European who managed to enter the Haram and make sketches of the buildings within it. On the other hand, by referring to Mr. Fergusson's first work, published in 1847, it will be found that the drawings upon which he founds his theory have attached to them the names of Catherwood and Arundale. Hence, whatever merit is due on this account, belongs to the work done by them at that time.

It may be worth stating that Mr. Catherwood afterwards accompanied J. L. Stephens to Central America, Chiapas and Yucatan, and made a very extensive series of drawings connected with the archæology of that region, a large number of which are published in Stephen's accounts of his travels. Catherwood was lost in the wreck of the Arctic in 1854.

The extracts from Mr. Bonomi's diary tell in a very distinct manner what was the feeling of the Mahomedans at that time in regard to Christians entering within the Haram; and by contrasting it with the present state of things we see a great advance which has been made, leading us to hope that more will yet be gained, and that the prejudices which still stand in the way of excavations in the Haram will at last be overcome, and those explorations which are so essential to clear up the questions connected with it will some day or another be permitted.

WILLIAM SIMPSON.